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Sir John Johnson, Loyalist

SIR JOHN JOHNSON, LOYALIST

BY

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A. B. University of Illinois, 1909

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN HISTORY

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1916

170c16

ORFAR

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 26 1966

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

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BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF *Master of Arts in History*
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on
Final Examination

343016



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SIR JOHN JOHNSON, LOYALIST.

Chapter I.

Sir John Johnson was one of those unfortunate men who, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, were forced to choose between loyalty to the English king and rebellion. Circumstances of birth and training, family honors and vast possessions, due to the generosity of the British government, largely decided the question for Sir John, and in the main determined the course which he was to follow. For his loyalty partisans have censured him severely, while on the other hand his admirers and relatives have praised him unstintedly for his fidelity to the Mother Country. It would seem that something might well be said in support of either view; obviously the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes.

Sir John was born November 5th, 1742.⁴ His father, Sir William Johnson was a young Irishman who, a few years previous to Sir John's birth, had come to America to take charge of a large estate in the Mohawk valley, owned by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren.⁵ Sir John's mother was a young German girl named Catherine Weisenberg. On arriving in America she had been sold for passage money to Alexander Phillips and his brother Hamilton. When Sir

1. See Simms: *Frontiersmen*, Campbell: *Annals of Tryon County*, MacLean: *Highlanders*, Chap. viii
2. Myers: *Loyalists in America*, Jones: *History of New York*.
3. De Peyster a great nephew of Sir John has written several short articles in his praise. See *Historical Introduction to Orderly Book, Life of Sir Johnson*.
4. De Peyster: *Sir Johnson*, Munsell Series, No. 11, p.33.
5. Stone: *Sir William Johnson*, Vol. I, pp. 60-62.

William first saw her she was working as a servant for the two brothers,
 whom he induced to part with her, upon the payment of five pounds.¹

While caring for his uncle's lands Sir William had not forgotten to look out for himself. Consequently his prosperity was such that in 1742, the year of his son's birth, he built a massive stone mansion on the north bank of the Mohawk River, eighteen miles northwest of Schenectady. Here at Mount Johnson as the place was called, John Johnson spent his childhood. He had two sisters, Nancy and Mary, younger than himself for playmates, besides countless numbers of Indian youths, for Sir William had extensive dealings with the Six Nations, especially the Mohawks who made Mount Johnson a clearing place for all troubles real or imaginary. As a youth he did not lack for amusement. His jovial father often called together his Indian and white neighbors for celebrations: races were run, the greased pig was caught and other vigorous sports indulged in, which must have delighted the boy. Life also had its serious side, for the period was one of dissension between the French and English, and Mount Johnson a frontier post of New York, was armed to the teeth, constantly ready to repell all attacks.²

The youth's early education must necessarily have been by tutors, and as such inadequate, since as a youth of seventeen, while studying at an Academy at Philadelphia he was reported to be "still backward in writing and

1. Sir William married her on her death bed to legitimize his children. See Simms: *Frontiersmen*, Vol. I, p. 204.
2. Stone: *Sir William Johnson*, Vol. I, pp. 65, 81.
3. Nancy married Captain Clans in 1762. Stone: *Sir William Johnson*, Vol. II, p. 169.
4. Mary was married to her cousin Guy Johnson in 1763. Cal. of *Sir William Johnson* MSS. p. 159.
5. In 1746 Sir William succeeded Colonel Schuyler in the management of Indian affairs, Stone: *Sir William Johnson*, Vol. I, p. 207. In 1756 he was commissioned as "Colonel, agent, and sole superintendent of all affairs of the Six Nations and other Indians." Cal. of *Sir William Johnson* MSS. p. 76.
6. Stone: *Sir William Johnson*, Vol. II, pp. 385, 386.
7. Documentary Hist. of N.Y. Vol. I, p. 532.

"ciphering" as he had not "hitherto been much put to it." At the same time he was said to be sober and virtuously inclined being "constant at Church every ¹ Sunday." However ~~his~~ military education was not neglected. November 15th, 1760, at the age of eighteen he was made Captain of a Company of New York ² Militia. This appointment was doubtlessly due to his father's influence, for Sir William had been successful in Military as well as financial affairs. In 1755 he won his military spurs at Crown Point and was knighted for his service. From this time the family fortune and prestige was assured, and the road to preferment made easy for Sir William's son.

In the summer of 1761 Sir William went to Detroit to conclude a peace with the western Indians and to regulate the fur trade. Captain John and Guy Johnson, a nephew of Sir William, were his only companions. Their journey, due to the hostile attitude of the Senecas, Shawnees and Delewares, was attended with many perils. Their route was by Oswego to Niagara then on to Detroit. During this trip the young Captain not only shared his father's perils but his pleasures likewise; no doubt at the festivities held at the frontier post of Detroit in honor of Sir William's visit the son danced all ³ night with as much zest as the father.

The arrangements made on this trip with the Western Indians procured comparative peace for the frontiers until the close of the French and Indian War. Then a feeling of resentment arose among the Western Indians against the new English domination of land which they considered "their sole ⁴ property." The Ottawa chief, Pontiac, put himself at the head of the move-

1. Documentary History of N.Y. Vol. II, pp 785-787.
2. Report of State Historian of N.Y. 1897, p. 786.
3. Private MSS. diary kept by Sir William Johnson on his journey to and from Detroit, 1761, printed in Stone: Sir William Johnson, Vol.II, p. 429.
4. Sir William to the Lords of Trade. November 3rd, 1763. Docs. Rel. to Col. History of N.Y. Vol.VII, p. 576.

ment and in 1763 planned the destruction of the Western posts. Although the Conspiracy failed the Indians continued to plot and hope. In the winter and spring of 1764 Sir William sent out several parties of friendly Indians, led ¹ by white officers, against the Deleware and the Shawnee villages. Captain John Johnson lead one of the parties and helped to destroy three large Deleware towns, one hundred and thirty scattered Indian houses and "made peaceable ² times" in the Deleware country,

Finally the British Government decided to act, and in the spring of 1764 two expeditions started for the Ohio country with a determination to chastize the belligerent redskin. One force under Colonel Boquet had its headquarters at Fort Pitt, while the second under Colonel Bradstreet started ³ from Albany with their rendezvous at Niagara.

When Colonel Bradstreet arrived at Niagara he found that Sir William had proceeded him and was busy making a peace with a motley array of ~~seventeen~~ hundred and twenty five Indians. However the Delewares and Shawnees did not attend the conference and Colonel Bradstreet continued his march west ⁴ to Detroit in preparation for co-operation with Colonel Boquet. Captain John Johnson in command of three hundred Indians joined the expedition at Niagara ⁵ and accompanied Colonel Bradstreet on his fruitless undertaking. Captain John's Indian forces made trouble on the expedition and showed their usual independence of spirit. When ordered to advance against the ~~Miamas~~ they re-

1. Sir William to the Lords of Trade. November 3rd, 1763.
Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VII, pp. 624, 635.
2. Cal. of Sir William Johnson MSS. p. 216.
3. Western Reserve, Tract no. 13, p. 1.
4. New York Hist. Soc. Col: Vol. XIV, p. 275.
5. Stone; Sir William Johnson. Vol. II, p. 224.

fused " saying they were designated to go against the Shawnees." In the end Bradstreet, finding himself hampered by lack of horses and by the lateness of the season, ² patched up a peace without Pontiac and started home leaving all the work and incidentally the honor to Colonel Boquet.

On the return trip a Lake Erie storm destroyed a number of the boats which forced a part of the men to walk. The white troops followed the shores of the lake until they reached Niagara, but the Indians and their officers ³ took to the woods where they endured great hardships due to hunger and cold. It was late in December before Captain John Johnson and his party reached the Mohawk valley, being delayed by the necessity of carrying the sick ⁴ Indians on their backs.

In 1753 Sir William received a grant of land known as the Kingsborough patent, situated some ten miles west of Mount Johnson. On this tract of land in 1763 he built a second mansion which he named Johnson Hall; about the same time the town of Johnstown, about one half mile south east of the Hall, ⁵ was laid out. A traveler in the Mohawk valley in the Spring of 1765 tells of dining at Fort Johnson "where Sir William's son lives." ⁶ It would seem from this statement that the son maintained a separate establishment at the old homestead after his father's removal to Johnson Hall and this tends to confirm the statements of Simms in regard to an early love affair of John Johnson. He, according to this author, became infatuated with a Miss Clara Putman and made her his housekeeper. She remained at Fort Johnson until 1773 when Sir John's marriage necessitated her removal with that of her children, to the town

1. Letter of an officer at Bradstreet's Camp, Western Reserve.
Tract 13, p.6.
2. Letter of Isreal Putman to Major Durkee, Western Reserve.
Tract 13. p.5.
3. N.Y. Mercury, Nov. 26, 1764, Western Reserve. Tract 14, p.2.
4. New Port Mercury, Dec. 31, 1764, Western Reserve. Tract 14, p.2.
5. Cal. of Sir William Johnson MSS. p. 159.
6. Ralph Izard's Diary. Extracts of which are contained in Buffalo. Hist. Soc. Pub. Vol. XV, p. 340.

¹
of Florida.

In 1765 Sir Adam Gordon of England visited Sir William at Johnson
² Hall, and when he returned to England in the autumn of the same year he was
 accompanied by Captain John Johnson who was sent, according to his father's
 statement "to acquire some knowledge of the world and wear off that rusticity
 which must accompany the action of a young man whose life had been chiefly
³ spent on the frontiers of America." Because of Sir William's reputation and
 Sir Adam Gordon's influence the young man was cordially received and presented
 at Court. Later in the year he was knighted and at the same time the red
⁴ garter was bestowed on Sir William. Early in 1766 he was mentioned for a
 governor's post in America and on the whole it appears he was rather well
⁵ received in England. He presented to a committee of the Privy Council his
⁶ father's claims to certain lands in the Mohawk Valley, so successfully that the
⁷ claim was allowed. After a trip to Ireland and a narrow escape in the Channel
⁸ Sir John landed in New York after a years absence. Later he was given a
 cordial welcome home by the Indians who had met for a conference at Johnson
⁹
¹⁰ Hall. On this occasion Sir John spoke "good friendly words" to the Indians.
 He assured them that he had had an opportunity of hearing his Majesty's fav-

1. Simms further states that Sir John provided for his children and their mother. The son he established in business in Canada. The daughter died soon after her marriage. Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.I, p. 265-267.
2. Cal. of Sir William Johnson. MSS. pp. 282,283.
3. Documentary Hist. of N.Y. Vol.II, p.822.
4. Cal. of Sir William Johnson. MSS pp.300-302.
5. ibid pp.306,307.
6. Afterwards known as the Royal Grant, Simms from a study of Sir William's will has decided the grant contained nearly 200,000 acres: Simms: Frontiersmen Vol.I pp.246,247.
7. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VII, p.945.
8. Cal. of Sir William Johnson MSS. p.327.
9. ibid p. 373.
10. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p.40.

orable opinion of all good Indians and his steady resolution to redress your
 1
 grievances." Sir John was a favorite with the Indians and they had fre-
 2
 quently inquired about him during his absence in England.

Sir John after his return began to busy himself with local af-
 fairs. A masonic lodge called Saint Patrick was organized in Johnstown and
 3
 he became the first grand master; in 1768 he was made a Colonel, by Sir Henry
 Moore, of a regiment of horse to be formed in the northern district of New
 4
 York; the tax receipts of the time show that he was paying considerable taxes;
 all indicative of his growing influence and importance in the valley.
 5

Political matters began to claim his attention, and in the
 election of January 1769, made necessary by the dissolution of the assembly
 by Governor Moore, Sir John was urged to become a candidate from Albany County
 6
 to run against Phillip Schuyler who was up for reelection. Sir John declined
 7
 and Schuyler was returned, not however before the bad feeling between the
 8
 Schuyler and Johnson families was augmented. In the election Sir William
 declined to support Schuyler, because of a motion made by the latter in the
 9
 previous assembly. There was also trouble between Sir William and Schuyler
 due to military affairs. Sir William as Brigadier General of one of two
 districts in New York had grown accustomed to being consulted in regard to the

1. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p.39
2. ibid.
3. Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.I, p.274.
4. Report of State Historian of N.Y. 1897, p.887.
5. Tax lists of Albany County cited in Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.I pp.246,247.
6. Cal. of Sir William Johnson MSS. p.413.
7. Jones speaks of the "antipathy and hatred" of Schuyler and
 "all his connections to the Johnson family," Jones: Hist. of N.Y.
 Vol.I, p.73.
8. Cal. of Sir William Johnson MSS. pp.415,455.
9. Schuyler "chafed" at some opposition in the election of 1768
 "from Sir John", believing Sir William to be responsible, made
 a motion for an act to prevent any member of the council inter-
 fering in future elections. Sir William was at that time a mem-
 ber of the Council. Stone: Sir William Johnson. Vol.II, p.316.

appointment of the field officers. Schuyler having influence with Governor Moore, disregarded Sir William's prerogative and "got some principle officers ¹ commissions who really were not extremely fitting for it." The officers had been selected with what Sir William regarded as "notorious partiality arising in all probability from very interested motives, and I have the greatest reason to think that Colonel Schuyler made himself very busy on that occasion as he does on many others, and that to his eagerness and ignorance some of the ² egregious blunders may be attributed." The trouble between the two families explains, at least to some extent, the alacrity with which Schuyler later carried out orders directed against the son of his old opponent.

In 1772 Tryon County was carved out of the western part of Albany County. Johnstown was made the Countyseat, and Sir William built there a jail and Courthouse, part of which was paid for by him. Guy Johnson, a son in law of Sir William, was made a judge and Sir John a justice of the peace for the new County in which the Johnson family were the foremost in wealth and influence. ³ The Mohawk Indians considered the family as their special protector and doubtlessly were greatly influenced in the part they followed at the outbreak of the war by the attitude of their benefactors. Their position was also strengthened by a number of Scotch Highlanders who settled on Sir William's ⁴ land as tenants. They came from Scotland in 1773 and became deeply attached

1. Documentary History of N.Y. Vol.II, pp.955,956,
2. ibid, pp.963,964.
3. Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.I,p. 324.
4. The exact number of Highlanders who settled in the Mohawk valley is not known, but their number must have been considerable. In 1774 Captain Alexander Macdonnell states that there were "200 men in the Mohawk valley of my own name." Captain Alexander Macdonnell's Letter Book, New York History: Soc. Col. Vol.XV, p. 224.

1

to the interests of Sir William.

In the winter of 1772-73 Sir John spent some time in New York City negotiating a marriage with Mary Watts, a daughter of John Watts, Sir William's friend and colleague in the Council. Sir John was well received and there seems to have been no opposition to his proposals of marriage. The wedding took place June 19, 1773 in New York City and the next day they traveled by water to Albany and visited Johnson Hall to receive Sir William's blessing, he at this time being confined at home by ill health. Shortly afterwards they went to Fort Johnson where they made their home until after Sir William's death.

The year of 1774 opened with a feeling of unrest in the air. The relations between Great Britain and the American Colonies were growing more strained, and the ever present Indian question had reached an acute stage. The western Indians goaded to desperation by Cresap's War, and the murder of Bald Eagle, a Delaware chief, were making overtures to the Six Nations to induce them to join against the whites. As usual the Six Nations appealed to Sir William and a conference was held in July at Johnson Hall. On July 11th Sir William, whose health had been failing for some time, overexerted himself and expired almost before Sir John, who was then at Fort Johnson a distance of nine miles, could be summoned.

1. MacLean: Highlanders, p. 197.
2. Letter of Guy Johnson to Sir William, N.Y. City, Feb. 13, 1773. Myers: Loyalists, Appendix A.
3. Simms: Frontiersmen. Vol. I, p. 269. Cal. of Sir William Johnson MSS. pp. 520, 521.
4. Documentary Hist. of N.Y. Vol. II, pp. 1004-1007; Stone: Sir William Johnson, Chap. XX; Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol. I, p. 291.

CHAPTER II.

In his will Sir William made generous provision for his eight half breed children by his housekeeper Mary Brant, and for his two sons-in-law, Daniel Clans and Guy Johnson but the bulk of the real estate passed into Sir John's hands. The estate at Fort Johnson with a tract of land opposite on the south bank of the Mohawk, the Hall at Johnstown with fifty thousand acres of the Royal grant, the right and title to Lake Onondoga and the land surrounding it two miles in depth, and various other parcels of land became Sir John's property. He succeeded his father as Major General of the Militia, but his request to retain his father's seat in the Council, for some reason was not granted. Guy Johnson who had been closely connected with Sir William in the management of Indian affairs in accord with the latter's request was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs.

Two months after Sir William's death the first Continental Congress met and adopted an association which they transmitted to the different colonies. In Tryon County, the opposition lead by the Johnsons was able to counteract the German sentiment in favor of the measure. At a Court held at Johnstown March 16, 1775 the grand jury drew up a declaration opposing the

1. She was a sister of Joseph Brant.
2. Will of Sir William Johnson, printed as an appendix to Stone: Sir William Johnson. Vol.II, p.492: According to the Returns of "late first batallion Kings Royal Reg. of N.Y." Sir John was in possession of nearly 200,000 acres of land lost by the rebellion. MacLean: *Highlanders*, p.224.
3. Stone: Life of Sir William Johnson. Vol.II, p.503.
4. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p.494.
5. ibid. Vol.VIII, p.485. Documentary Hist. N.Y. Vol.II, p.1006-7.
6. Becker: N.Y. Parties, p.171.

association as an "unjustifiable act on the private property of the Indian Company" and resolved to bear faith and true allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, King George III. This declaration was signed by most of the grand jurors and nearly all the magistrates: in all thirty four names were attached. Two distinct parties took shape in the county; the loyalists, led by the Johnsons and Butlers, whose chief strength lay in the support of the Scotch Highlanders, who were tenants of Sir John, and the Whigs whose radical principles appealed to the German settlers.

The declaration of the grand jury stirred the radical element to active opposition and Whig committees in the four districts of Tryon County, Palatine, Conajoharie, German Flats and Mohawks, met and declared their "fixed attachment to and entire approbation of the first Continental Congress." In May, 1775, the Palatine district declared their determination "to wipe off the indelible disgrace brought on us by the declaration signed by our grand jury and some of our magistrates," declaring their intentions "to be free or die."

Meanwhile the friends of government were not idle. The loyalists were strong enough in the New York assembly, which met in January, 1775, to secure a vote expressing disapprobation of the actions of the first Continental Congress. They also prevented delegates being appointed to the new

1. Am. Arch. 4. Ser. Vol.II, p. 151.
2. ibid. pp. 637-8. Campbell: Annals of Tryon County. p.33.
3. Am. Arch. 4 Ser. Vol.II, p.151.
4. The Palatine Whig Committee had met as early as Aug. 27, 1774. It did not however hold a second meeting until May 11, 1775; from this time on meetings were frequent. Sometimes every week. Simms has printed extracts from the journal of the Tryon County Committee of Vigilance which contains reports of the four districts. From the Journal it appears that the Whig Com; in Tryon County did not become active until after the grand jury drew up its declaration. Journal in Simms. Frontiersman, Vol.I, p.489 ff.
5. Simms: Frontiersman, Vol.I, p.492.
6. Am. Arch. 4 Ser. Vol.II, pp.637-8.

¹
Congress which was to meet in May. The Whigs in New York City, in order to gain their ends, resorted to extra legal devices. They called a mass meeting which in turn authorized the calling of a convention to elect delegates to the new Continental Congress. The invitations were sent out to the Counties March 16, the same day that the grand jury of Tryon County drew up their ² declaration. Nine of the counties responded, but the invitation was apparently ³ ignored in Tryon County, probably because the Whig Committees were not at that time organized and working effectively.

The Convention met April 20th, appointed delegates to the second Continental Congress and dissolved on April 22nd. The following day the news of the battle of Lexington reached New York City and April 28th the Whig Committee, which had decided to prevent the meeting of the legal assembly whose loyalty was well known, sent out a second letter to the Counties, asking them ⁴ to choose members to a new Provincial Assembly. The Johnsons in Tryon County ⁵ opposed these illegal proceedings and for a time were able to prevent deputies being chosen. About the middle of May the Johnsons "appeared with their dependents armed and dispersed the people" at a "numerous meeting of the Mohawk ⁶ district." At the same time it was reported that Johnson Hall had been fort-ified and that about 250 Highlanders were armed, besides part of Sir John's ⁷ Militia, "no doubt," as the Whigs believed, "to prevent the friends of liberty from publishing their attachment to the world." It is impossible to say how much truth there was in the report that the Highlanders and Militia were in arms, but it is probable that Sir John was using all the influence he could to counteract these extra legal proceedings, which, strickly speakin^g, was

1. Becker: N.Y. Parties, p.176-177.
2. ibid. p. 186: Am. Arch. 4 Ser. Vol.II, p.151.
3. Becker: N.Y. Parties, p.187.
4. ibid. pp.192-201.
5. The New Provincial Congress met May 22. The delegates from Try-on Co. did not appear until June 21. Am. Arch. 4 Ser. Vol.II, p.1305
6. Am. Arch. 4 Ser. Vol.II, p.637-8.
7. ibid.

his duty as a magistrate and as Colonel General of the Militia,

There had already been active recruiting going on in the Mohawk valley. In the winter of 1774-75, Alexander Macdonnell, of Staten Island, while awaiting answers to proposals sent to England asking authority to recruit five companies of loyalists, made a trip to the Mohawk region and secretly canvassed the Highlanders of that district where there were two hundred men by the name of Macdonnell. ¹ Their chief men "cheerfully agreed to be ready at a call."

But most of all the Whigs in the Mohawk valley dreaded the Indians, and became concerned as to the course likely to be pursued by them. They especially feared the influence of their new superintendent, Guy Johnson, over them. The Whigs knew how ardently he disapproved of their measures and they feared he would influence the Indians to hostilities against them. On the other hand ² Guy Johnson was sure that the Whigs were trying to seize him. ³ On May 18th he wrote to the Schenectady Committee of Albany County declaring that his duty was to promote peace; at the same time he mentioned the threats that had been made against him and the false reports that had been circulated concerning himself, and assured them of his ability and intentions "to give a very hot and disagreeable reception to any person" who would attempt to invade his ⁴ retreat. ⁵ In reply the Palatine Committee passed a set of resolutions on May 21st, declaring Guy Johnson's conduct in raising fortifications around his house, and keeping armed men and Indians around him, stopping men on the "King's highway" and cutting off communications with Albany, to be "arbitrary, illegal, oppressive and unwarrantable." ⁶ They wrote to the Albany Com-

1. Letter Book of Captain Macdonnell, N.Y.Hist. Soc. Col. 1882.
p.224.

2. Am.Arch. 4 Ser. Vol. II, pp. 637-638.

3. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p.635-7.

4. Guy Johnson lived in the eastern part of Tryon County and for this reason his Albany County neighbors felt that they should keep an eye on him.

5. Am.Arch. 4 Ser. Vol.II, p.638.

6. Journal of Tryon County Com. of Vigilance, See Simms: Frontiersmen. Vol.I, p.495.

mittee asking for powder,¹ and suggested that it might be expedient to open up communications by force, but the Albany Whigs advised against the measure.
They too were short of powder.²

May 25th Guy Johnson held a conference with the Mohawk Indians at Guy Park at which delegates from Albany and Tryon County were present. Little Abraham spoke for the Indians and declared their attachment for their new superintendent. He insisted that the Indians did not wish a quarrel with the inhabitants, but if their powder was cut off they would be "distrustful." Nothing was accomplished at this conference and Guy Johnson, probably dissatisfied with the western Indian's failure to comply with his invitation, withdrew further west to the German Flatts district taking his family with him.³ From there he called a second Congress which was destined never to meet, for late in May, in accord with secret instructions received from General Gage, Guy Johnson withdrew to Canada by the way of Fort Stanwix with his family and a number of white men and Indians.⁴

A short time after the battle of Bunker Hill, Phillip Schuyler, who had been elected a Major General by the second Continental Congress, was put in charge of the northern district by General Washington and among other matters instructed to watch Colonel Guy Johnson and to prevent as far as possible the effects of his influence with the Indians.⁵ However when he reached Albany he found that the Indian Superintendent had fled leaving "Sir John the most prominent Loyalist and at the same time the most conspicuous friend of the Indians in that region."⁶ By this time the Mohawk valley was fairly

1. At this time there was only about fifty pounds of powder in the districts of Palatine, Conajoharie and the German Flatts. See Stone: Life of Brant, Vol. I, p. 66.
2. ibid.
3. Campbell: Annals of Tryon County, pp.43-7; Stone, Life of Brant Vol. I, pp. 71-2.
4. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, pp. 635-37.
5. Am. Arch. 4 Ser. Vol. II, p. 1084-5.
6. Winsor: America, Vol. VI, pp. 624-5.

seethin^g with activity. The Whig committee met often and deliberated long
 and at times secretly.¹ They arrested, fined, and in some instances imprison-²
 ed their loyalist neighbors; they exercised the pardoning power, in case the
 offender promised reformation along lines laid down by them; called for new
 elections, when the old officials seemed too loyal to the existing government;³
 met in council with the Indians; appointed committees to buy powder and lead;⁴
 recommended the inhabitants to have no trade dealings with their Tory neighbors
 who had not entered into the association.⁵ In short for a time they transacted
 all sorts of business, legislative, executive, and judicial, and were the
 principle organs of local government. with a wide field for independent action,
 but in this they showed respect for the organization above them, the general
 committee on Tories and the Provincial and Continental Congresses.⁶⁷⁸⁹

In June the Tryon County Committee decided to make a list of all
 the inhabitants of the County and to present the association to all who had
 not signed.¹⁰ Lists of all those refusing were drawn up and sent to the Provincial
 Congress. The Whigs did not approve of a "middle of the road" position,
 and the neutrality which they tried to urge upon the Indians was not for the
 white inhabitants. As far as the Whig Committee were concerned those that were
 not for them were considered as enemies. Sir John occupied a difficult position,
 but he stood his ground and was not in the least overawed by the Whig

1. Journal of Tryon Co. Com. of Vigilance, cited in Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.I,pp.495-6.
2. ibid. p.518.
3. ibid. p.521.
4. ibid. p.513-4
5. ibid. p.516.
6. ibid. p.503.
7. ibid. p.496.
8. ibid.
9. Flick: Loyalism in N.Y. Chap.IV.
10. Journal of Tryon County Committee of Safety. Simms: Frontiersman, Vol.I. p.501.

Committees. In August 1775 he had four hundred men in arms to protect Sheriff
 1 white, who had been in trouble with the Whigs for some time. The previous
 2 Spring he had cut down a liberty pole which the Germans had erected, and
 noisily boasted on several occasions that "he would fight for the King and
 swore they would be sure to conquer" and that he " hoped to have the pleasure
 3 of hanging a good many yet." As Sheriff of the County and friend of Sir John
 he exercised control over the jail at Johnstown and lodged Whigs there without
 4 "process." Schuyler was on the lookout but did not interfere being "appre-
 hensive of evil consequences from the Indians." However the inhabitants suc-
 ceeded in driving off the Sheriff and Sir John promised not to interfere
 5 further.

6 October 27th the Tryon County Committee sent a committee of three
 with a letter to Sir John. They wished to know if he would permit the inhab-
 itants of Johnstown and Kingsborough to form themselves into Companies ac-
 cording to the regulations of the Continental Congress; they wished to know
 what part he expected to take in th approaching struggle, and whether or not
 he pretended a "prerogative" to the jail at Johnstown and would prevent them
 7 from using it. Sir John delivered a verbal answer to the committee of three.
 He accused the Whigs of forcing two thirds of the people of Conajoharie and
 German Flatts to sign the association. He declared, apparently not at all
 mollified by the messenger's contention that it was ridiculous to suppose

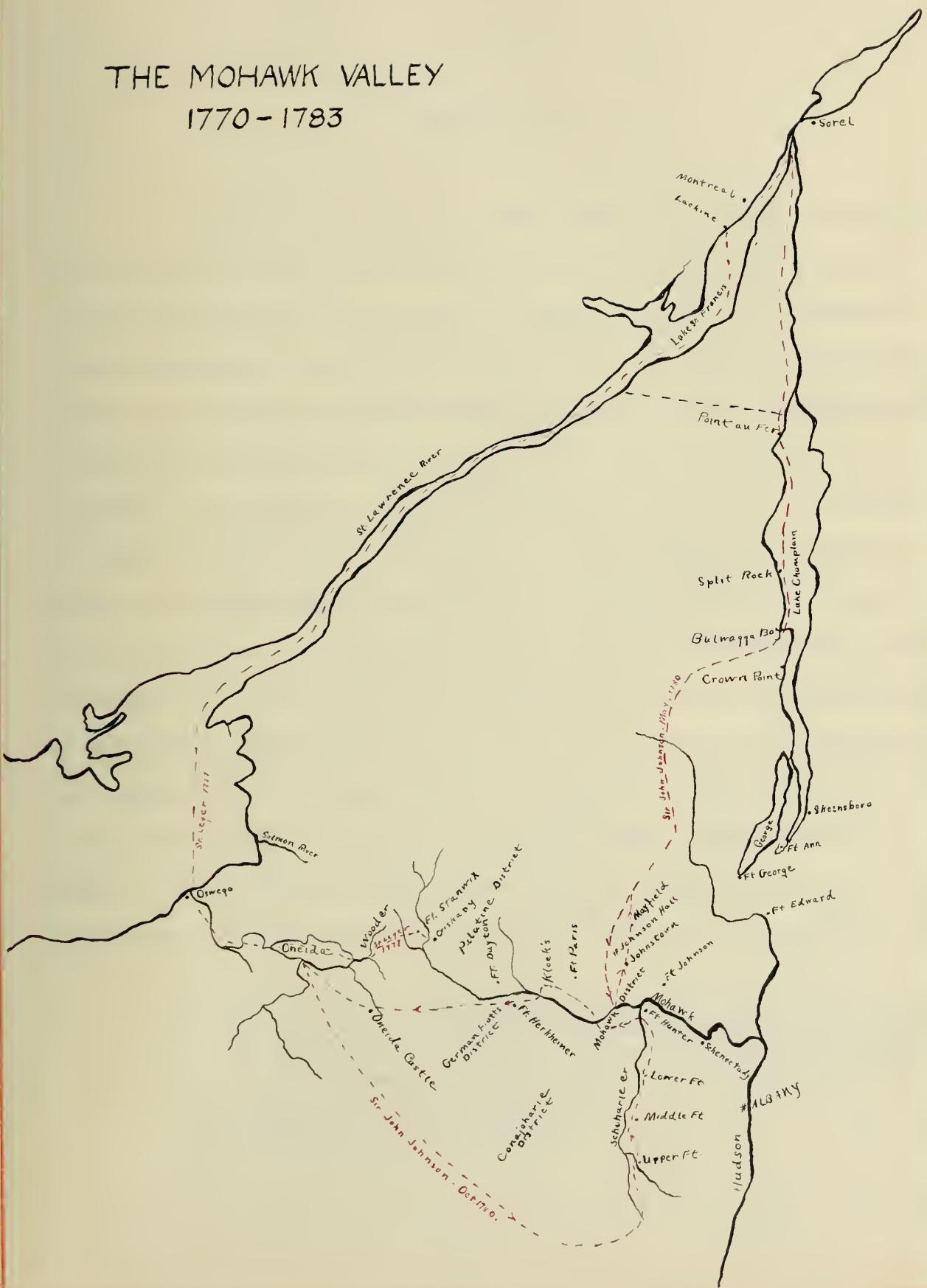
1. Am.Arch. Ser.4. Vol.III, p.50.
2. Stone: Life of Brant, vol.I, p.106.
3. Journal of Tryon County Committee of Vigilance. Simms: Frontiersman, vol.I, p.512.
4. ibid. p.513.
5. Am.Arch. Ser.4. Vol.III, pp. 50, 223,224.
6. Ebenezer Cox, James McMaster and John James Clock were the men sent. See Simms: Frontiersman, Vol.I, p. 520.
7. Am.Arch: Ser.4, Vol.III, p. 1194.

that one third could make two thirds sign, that "before he would sign any association or lift his hand up against the King, he would rather suffer his ¹ head to be cut off: and that he would oppose any illegal use of the jail. As to his tenants forming themselves into companies, he said he had never opposed them, nor would he, but that he was "sure that they would not" care to do so. The messengers were told point blank that in his opinion the Boston people ² were rebels and the other colonies were no better.

The Whigs determined to find out just what Sir John considered an illegal use of the jail. When Sheriff White was forced to leave the community he was accompanied for some distance toward Canada by John Bowen and a man ³ named Clement. When these two men returned they were promptly arrested and fined twenty five pounds. They refused to pay a cent and the committee sent ⁴ them as prisoners to Albany. The Albany Committee, no doubt being crowded for jail room themselves, sent the prisoners back. The Tryon County Committee decided to try a test case. Captain Jacob Seeber with the help of eight men tried to lodge the prisoners in jail, but the jailor, John Hare, and two companions resisted Captain Seeber and threatened to shoot. The attempt was abandoned and the prisoners were turned over to the new Whig Sheriff, John ⁵ Fry. Later at a committee meeting a motion was made to arrest John Hare and ⁶ his companions, for opposing Captain Seeber, but the motion was negatived. Probably they too like General Schuyler feared at this time to oppose Sir John and his claims to the jail, on account of the evil consequences such action might have on the Indians.

1. Sir John claimed the jail until he was paid 700 pounds. This amount had been advanced by Sir William when the jail was built.
2. Am. Arch. Ser. 4. Vol. III, p. 1245.
3. ibid. Vol. II, p. 1726.
4. Simms: Frontiersman, Vol. I, p. 518.
5. Journal of Tryon Co. Com. of Vigilance, Simms: Frontiersman, Vol. I, p. 521.
6. ibid. p. 524.

THE MOHAWK VALLEY 1770-1783



Chapter III.

In the early winter of 1775-76 rumors were current to the effect that Sir John was in correspondence with the loyalists in New York City and with Guy Johnson who was in Canada.¹ A report was made to the Continental Congress declaring that the Tories had a quantity of military stores hidden in Tryon County; accordingly December 30th Congress instructed General Schuyler to go into that section, seize the arms of the Tories and apprehend their chief men.² The success of the plan depended to a great extent on secrecy, but having no men to carry out the orders, General Schuyler was forced to appeal to the Albany Whig Committee for troops. While they were secretly devising means to collect a body of men and "much puzzled what reason to give for doing it" a letter from the Tryon County Committee was received enclosing an affidavit of Jonathan French to the effect that Sir John was fortifying his house and had three hundred Indians near him; these reports were made the "ostensible reason for raising the militia."³ These reports stirred the people to action and by the time General Schuyler reached Caughnawga he had "near three hundred men," which included nine hundred Tryon County Militia.⁴

1. Sir John was in correspondence with Governor Tryon. He was at this time lining up the Indians and forming a battalion in which all the officers had been named previous to January 5, 1776. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p. 651.
2. Journal of Congress, 1775, p. 310.
3. Am. Arch. Ser.4. Vol. IV, p. 818.
4. ibid. p. 819-821.

The Indians were alarmed by the movement of such a large body of men toward their country. An Indian deputation headed by Abraham, a Mohawk chief, met General Schuyler at Schenectady January 16th and complained bitterly of this invasion of their country. They pointed out that it broke the terms of the treaty of August, 1775. They declared that Johnson Hall was not being fortified, and maintained that Sir John had promised them that he would not be the aggressor, but, that in case people came to take away his life he would defend himself. General Schuyler assured the Indians that his purpose was not to interfere with them, but since he "had full proof that many people in Johnstown and the neighborhood" had been making preparations "to carry into execution the wicked designs of the King's evil Councillors," by special order of Congress he was marching up to keep the path open and to prevent the Johnstown people from cutting off communications. The next day he resumed his march toward Johnstown, having previously dispatched a letter to Sir John, advising him that by orders of Congress he was marching troops to "contravene the dangerous designs" which his information made him believe had been formed in Tryon County. In order that no blood might be shed, he invited Sir John to meet him on the road between Schenectady and Johnstown. In the same letter he gave assurance that Lady Johnson would not be molested whatever resulted.

Sir John and some of the leading Highlanders met General Schuyler

1. A treaty made at Albany between Commissioners appointed by Congress and the Six Nations. By this treaty the Indians understood that the Mohawk river was to be left open for trade, no troops should be sent into the Indian country and that Sir John should not be molested. In return the Indians promised to remain neutral. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, pp 605-631.

2. Am. Arch. Ser. 4, Vol. IV, pp. 819-821.

3. ibid. pp. 822-823.

4. ibid. p. 823.

5. Schuyler had an affidavit of a man named Connor in regard to buried arms. Jones: Hist. of N.Y. Vol. I, p. 579.

6. Lady Johnson was General Schuyler's second cousin.

at Guy Park sixteen miles west of Schenectady and were presented the following terms. Sir John was asked to surrender all military stores in his possession or in the county, and all private arms with a few exceptions; to give his parole of honor not to take up arms against America; the Scotch were required to deliver up all their arms and to give six hostages for their good behavior.

Sir John objected to these terms and asserted that the Indians would support him, some being already at the Hall for that purpose, while others were on their way there. However he asked permission to withhold his answer until the next day.¹ After Sir John withdrew, Abraham declared to General Schuyler that the Indians would not help Sir John and would interfere only as mediators. Schuyler, with good reasons, doubted this and informed the wily chief that he intended to destroy all who appeared in arms against the expedition. He then advanced his army within four miles of Johnstown, where Sir John sent to him counter proposals, which proved to be unsatisfactory to the General. An ultimatum was returned to Sir John allowing him until midnight to give a favorable answer. At the same time General Schuyler requested that Lady Johnson retire from the Hall.²

The Indians immediately interceded in behalf of Sir John and asked that his terms might be accepted. General Schuyler refused and made known to them his intentions to use force if a favorable answer was not forthcoming by midnight.³ Finally the Indians begged that the time might be extended that they might go to Sir John and "shake his head." The General granted their last request, but an extension of time was not needed, since Sir John's answer was

1. Am.Arch. Ser.4. Vol.IV. pp.824-825.

2. Sir John objected to being confined to any certain locality; the Scotch gentlemen insisted on keeping their side arms, and objected to giving hostages. Am.Arch. Ser.4. Vol.IV, pp.825-6

3. ibid. p. 826.

4. ibid.

delivered before midnight. It differed very little from General Schuyler's original proposals and was accepted by him. By the terms of the agreement Sir John promised to go no further west than the German Flatts and Kingsland districts,¹ He was permitted to retain a few favorite arms and the Scotch were allowed to give six prisoners instead of hostages.²

The following afternoon, January 19th, the military stores in Sir John's possession were given up. The small quantity proved disappointing to General Schuyler, who had expected a much greater amount. Since the agreement with Sir John did not include all the parishes of the County, but chiefly Sir John's Scotch tenants, various parties were sent out to apprehend and bring into Johnstown all the loyalists they could find. In the meantime, January 20th, the Scotch Highlanders, between two and three hundred in number, according to the terms of the agreement, paraded in Johnstown and ground their arms. Thereupon the General "exhorted" them and pointed out that the only safe course for the Highlanders lay in supporting the colonies. He then secured their arms and dismissed them.³

Schuyler had brought with him a man named Connor, who had made an affidavit concerning arms buried in Tryon County. The two Highlanders implicated by Connor called him a "perjured wretch" and declared a willingness to be hanged if Connor's charge proved true. To test the matter General Schuyler sent several field officers with Connor to examine the place where the arms were purported to have been buried. He lead them to a small island, about twenty by twenty eight feet in size, in the center of a duck pond. The island

1. Feb. 7, 1776, Governor Tryon wrote to Dartmouth that Sir John had entered into a bond of 1600 pounds sterling. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 663.

2. Am. Arch: Ser. 4, ^{Vol. IV} pp. 827-828.

3. ibid. Vol. IV. p. 828.

was about three feet above the water in the center and gradually sloped down to the water. When the officers saw the size of the island they became sceptical, but Connor assured them that the arms were stacked in four piles. The ground was cleared and shovels applied, but no arms were found. The ground had not been recently disturbed,¹ and Connor proved to be what the Scotch had maintained,² a "perjured wretch."

The parties sent out to apprehend Tories were successful,³ and General Schuyler estimated that altogether about six hundred Tories were dis-⁴armed. He left General Herkheimer to complete the work of disarming and to select the six Scotch prisoners⁵ while he himself returned to Albany.⁶

1. Am.Arch. Ser.4, Vol.IV. p.828.
2. Schuyler confined Connor as an imposter. *ibid.*
3. January 19th fifty Tories were brought in; on the 21st. sixty. *ibid.*
4. *ibid.*
5. The prisoners were Allan McDonell, Sr., Allan McDonell, Jr., Alexander McDonell, Ronald McDonell, Archibald McDonell, and John McDonell. They were sent to Reading, Penn. and later to Lancaster. McLean: *Highlanders*, p.205.
6. On his road to Albany, Schuyler dispatched a letter to Sir John asking why the Scotch had not delivered up their broad swords and dirks and insisting that the matter be cleared up. Schuyler explained that he did not say anything about this matter when the Scotch delivered up their other arms since he was "too apprehensive of the consequences which might have been fatal to those people to take notice of it on the spot." (Am.Arch. Ser.4, Vol.IV, p.824.) It is possible that Schuyler with his poorly trained volunteers and militia which on the trip were hard to manage, (*ibid.*) was not in a position to raise the issue being "apprehensive" for the welfare of his own troops as well as for the Highlanders.

This disarming of the Tories was derisively called by the loyalists "Schuyler's Peacock Expedition."¹ However it took from the Tryon County loyalists many of their arms, and it must have handicapped Sir John in his plans. As has already been stated he was at this time raising a battalion, and was waiting only for supplies and some "regulars" before he made an attempt to recapture the northern forts.² Sir John had been successful in keeping his plans secret from the Whigs. Congress and General Schuyler were suspicious but they really knew nothing for certain, and the expedition was made on the basis of knowledge contained in two affidavits both of which eventually proved false.³

For a few weeks after giving his parole Sir John was left in peace. However on March 6th Asa Chadwick made a deposition before John Collins, a justice of the peace in Tryon County, to the effect that on March 4th while at Johnson Hall he had heard Sir John say that he had sent for the Indians and that they would fall on the back settlements in six weeks time "and blood will run."⁴ This affidavit was sent to the Albany Committee who resolved March 11th to lay the whole matter before General Schuyler to act upon as he saw fit, since Sir John was under parole to him.⁵

1. Jones charges that Schuyler's forces pillaged the inhabitants of Johnstown and Sir John. They destroyed a large flock of peacocks belonging to Sir John and decorated themselves with the feathers. Jones: N.Y. Vol. I, pp. 73, 74. It may be that Jones was wrong in stating that the inhabitants were pillaged and confused this expedition with the one made later under Colonel Dayton when Johnson Hall was pillaged. However Gov. Tryon in a letter to Farnsworth, Feb. 1776, in telling of Schuyler's expedition, asserts that 360 guineas were taken from Sir John's desk. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 663.

2. *ibid.* 651.

3. Affidavits of Connor and French. The latter's proved false also. Jones: Hist. of N.Y. Vol. I, pp. 384-5.

4. Am. Arch. Ser. 4, Vol. V, p. 195.

5. *ibid.*

March 12th Schuyler wrote to Congress, enclosing Chadwick's deposition and asking for advice. He advised Congress however that should he find the charges true he would not permit Sir John to remain in Tryon County, but would act without their opinion if safety demanded it. On the same day he wrote to Sir John ordering him down to Albany to meet his accusers. He came on the appointed day, March 19th, but Chadwick did not appear to accuse him. Schuyler questioned Sir John who did not deny that he had said the Indians had threatened to fall upon the settlements. He added, however, that the Whigs in Tryon County knew that the Indians had repeatedly thrown out threats to this effect. Whatever General Schuyler's personal inclinations may have been he permitted Sir John to return to Tryon County, since the evidence against him was not conclusive, and his seizure would have made the Indians angry.

On March 17th the British evacuated Boston and as a result the Whig Committees were stimulated to greater activity. A few weeks later, backed up by the Albany Committee, Schuyler determined to seize Sir John. He said he had received "more information supported by affidavits" against Sir John, which he apparently did not see fit to reveal. He had been singularly unfortunate in having his previous "information" turn out to be false, and it would seem that he did not lay much stress on this new evidence, since he considered it necessary to release Sir John from his parole before arresting him, which would not have been the case if there was sufficient evidence that Sir John had broken his parole. To catch him un-

1. Am. Arch. Ser.4. Vol. V. p. 194.

2. ibid. p. 196.

3. ibid.

4. Jones: Hist. of N. I. Vol. I, p. 583.

5. ibid. p. 584.

6. Am. Arch. Ser.4, Vol. VI, p. 642.

7. ibid.

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awares the General evolved a wily scheme and set about carrying it out with great secrecy. He at this time was detained at Saratoga and Colonel Dayton was entrusted with the mission.

One of the six prisoners taken in January when the Scotch had been disarmed was Allan McDonnell, head of the clan. He had written a letter to Congress requesting that the clan of McDonnell be removed to Albany and

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"subsisted." General Schuyler made the removal of the Highlanders a ruse to cover the real purpose of the march into Tryon County. Accordingly on

May 15th he wrote to Sir John and informed him that troops would soon arrive to remove the Highlanders to Albany. When Sir John received the letter

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he assembled his Scotch tenants and they declared that they would not go to Albany since they were under no obligations to Allan McDonnell. On

May 18th Sir John answered General Schuyler to this effect. He pointed out that the Highlanders were in debt to him "near 2000 pounds and that they

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were in a fair way to discharge it if left in peace." In the meantime

Sir John's friends in Albany informed him of the real purpose of the march

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into Tryon County, and just before Colonel Dayton reached Johnstown he

1. Schuyler planned to deliver a letter to Sir John releasing him from his parole, with the intention of taking him a close prisoner as soon as he had read the letter. *Am. Arch.* ^{Ser. 4 Vol. 4} pp. 641-2. Flick speaks of this ruse as a piece of treachery. *Flick: Loyalism in N.Y.* p.87.
2. *Am. Arch. Ser. 4. Vol. VI*, p.642.
3. *ibid. pp. 641-2*
4. *ibid. p. 642*
5. *ibid. p. 644.*
6. Thomas Gumerall was helpful in forwarding information. He advanced some money also. Lieutenant Grey, formerly of the 42nd regiment helped to raise the men who went with Sir John. *Am. Arch. Ser. 5, Vol. I*, p. 866.

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started to Canada with "about one hundred and thirty Highlanders and about
" one hundred and twenty others attached to government.

2

Colonel Dayton in pursuance of his orders arrived in Johnstown May 19th with 300 troops. Following Schuyler's instructions he sent a messenger to Johnson Hall to ask Sir John when the Highlanders would be ready to be escorted to Albany. Lady Johnson informed the messenger that Sir John had "retired into the woods" with the Highlanders and that they were resolved to defend themselves if pursued. ³ A few days later Lady Johnson was ordered to hand over the keys and prepare to go to Albany. May 22nd every room and drawer in Johnson Hall was searched but no incriminating ⁴ papers were found. With the advice of the Mohawk Committee Colonel Dayton took possession of Johnson Hall. He thought it probable that Sir John was lurking in the woods and might get advice and provisions from the Hall. However he sent out parties to intercept Sir John if he should attempt to ⁵ escape by way of Niagara.

1. Historians have said that Sir John broke his parole of honor. See McLean: Highlanders, p. 205; Campbell: Annals of Tryon County, p.62; Stone: Life of Brant, Vol.I, p.145; Simms: Frontiersmen. Vol.I, pp.568-70; Jones exonerates Sir John. Jones: Hist. of N.Y. Vol.I, pp. 75, 587. DePeyster claims that Schuyler's letter written May 10th to Sir John, even though never delivered, released Sir John. See his address, N.Y. Historical Society, Jan. 6th, 1880; Meyers says the parole was exacted by a display of force authorized by a defacto government. Meyers: Tories or Loyalists in America, Dunsell Series, No.11, p. 212a.
2. McLean accuses Sir John of being responsible for the Highlanders losing their homes. McLean, Highlanders, p.205. This seems rather unfair since they had "most cheerfully agreed" to enroll under Colonel Allan McLean eighteen months before Sir John left for Canada. McDonnell: Letter Book, N.Y. Hist. Soc. Col. 1882, p.224.
3. Col. Dayton to Schuyler May 28th. Am. Arch. Ser.4, Vol.VI, p.644.
4. Elmer: Journal, May 22nd, 1776.
5. Am. Arch. Ser.4, Vol.VI. p.645.

Lady Johnson, by Schuyler's orders, was removed to Albany much
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against her wishes. The expediency of removing all the disaffected from
the vicinity was discussed with the Albany and Tryon County Committees.
However they decided to take thirty or forty of the most dangerous and sent
2
them to Albany as hostages. This was done and Colonel Dayton was ordered
to remain in the Mohawk valley to secure that part of the country and "awe
the enemy."

1. Elmer: Journal, May 22nd, 1776; Am. Arch. Ser.4. Vol.VI, p.647
2. ibid; Elmer: Journal. June 5th, 1776.

Chapter IV.

Sir John did not retire to Canada by way of Niagara as Colonel Dayton had predicted. The Champlain route was also carefully avoided since he was uncertain as to whether friend or foe held the Lake. The usual routes being considered unsafe, the party took to the woods by way of the Sacondoga, and travelled in a northwesternly direction until they reached the St. Lawrence River. Their preparations for the journey had been made hurridly and proved to be inadequate. After suffering severe hardships the footsore loyalists arrived ¹ ² in Montreal early in June, where they were welcomed by Sir Guy Carleton. Sir John told of the distress and loyalty of the people of his neighborhood and asked permission to raise a battalion for the protection of ³ faithful subjects. His request was immediately granted and on June 19th, Sir Guy Carleton commissioned Sir John, Lieutenant Colonel, with permission to raise a battalion of five hundred men to be called the "King's Royal Regiment of New York."

Sir John took the men he had brought with him as a nucleus and immediately began to form his battalion, the expenses of which he for sometime was obliged to bear. In July he made application to General Burgoyne for levy money, but to no avail. The General pointed out that his case was different

1. Stone: Life of Brant. Vol. I, p. 144.

2. Mr. Siebert puts the date of Sir John's arrival as the last week in June. This would seem to be a mistake. According to a letter written by Carleton June 8th, Sir John had reached Montreal on or before June 8th. Can. Arch. 1904. Sessional Papers No. 18, App. I. p. 390.

3. ibid; 1885, p. 237.

from that of Colonel Lieutenant McLean whose corps was to serve where ever ordered, and whose Commander received no advantage of rank. He explained that in Sir John's case the corps was raised by an "opulent subject in a time of danger, to protect the rights of the Crown and those of private property, and was to serve only in America", and only under special exigencies out of its own province. He said the plan was similar to that of English Noblemen, who in 1745 raised regiments in their own counties at their own expense, "receiving military rank in return." He comforted Sir John by saying that he believed the enlistments could be made with little expense.¹

From the first Sir John met opposition in increasing the size of his corps. April 3rd, 1775, Lieutenant Colonel McLean of Scotland, had been given a warrant to raise a corps of Highlanders in America to be known as the "Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment." His recruiting activities, even before the warrant was granted, had carried an agent of his, Captain Alexander Macdonnell, into the Mohawk valley where there were two hundred men of the Macdonnell clan. The agent spoke to their chief men, and they "cheerfully agreed" to be ready at a call.² However they could not be enlisted since the warrant did not arrive from England until several months later. When Guy Johnson withdrew to Canada in the Spring of 1775 a number of Highlanders went with him, and probably joined McLean's corps. However Sir John expected to incorporate those Highlanders whom he had brought with him into his own corps. Just how many left him and joined McLean is not known, but it is probable that some of them did. According to Captain Alexander Macdonnell, Colonel MacLean's right hand man in recruiting,³ poor old Ronald not only refused Sir John's offer but carried

1. Can. Arch. 1888, pp. 641, 2.

2. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 562.

3. Macdonnell. Letter Book. p. 224.

4. Maj. J. Brown in a letter written Aug. 14th, 1775, from Crown Point to Gov. Trumbell says, "Col. Guy Johnson has arrived at Montreal with a party of 300 mostly tenants." In. Arch. Ser. 5, p. 135, 6. Vol. II.

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thirty of the Highlanders in spite of all opposition off to Colonel MacLean.¹ This defection occurred in the Autumn of 1776 and must have been a rather serious loss since the corps at that time was small. However the ranks began to be filled by parties and detached stragglers from New York who escaped over the ² borders.

In the Spring of 1777 John and Alexander Macdonnell, two of the prisoners taken by General Schuyler in his Johnstown raid, received permission to visit their families. They violated their agreement and instead of returning to prison ran off to Canada with a number of Highlanders who still remained in Tryon County. On their arrival Alexander was commissioned a Captain and John a Captain Lieutenant in Sir John's corps, and at least part of the men ³ they brought off joined the ranks of the King's Royal Regiment of New York. At the time Sir John joined St Leger's expedition in the Spring of 1777, less ⁴ than a year after the formation of the corps, it consisted of six companies, and each company under the terms of the Commission was to consist of fifty ⁵ ⁶ privates.

After establishing his corps in winter quarters at Lachine, St ⁷ Ann and Point Claire, Sir John went to New York to secure if possible his ⁸ wife's release. She had been, since her removal from Johnstown in May, virtually a prisoner of her cousin, General Schuyler.

Lady Johnson, on her arrival in Albany, had been permitted to

1. Macdonnell. Letter book. p. 301.
2. Siebert: Am. Loyalists. p.4.
3. Can. Arch. 1888. p. 643; Stone: Life of Brant. Vol. I. p.212.
4. Orderly Book. June 17.
5. ibid. July 31.
6. The return of officers show that the first battalion, when completed had ten captains. See tables in MacLean's Highlanders. pp. 224, 225.
7. Orderly Book. Nov. 7.
8. Can. Arch. 1885, p.249.

stay with her relatives Mrs. Bruce and Mrs. Stephen De Lancy, with the understanding that she was not to leave the city. Her brother, Robert Watts, early in June requested General Washington that his sister might go to New York City. Washington was willing but referred the matter to General Schuyler whose prisoner she was. He refused to let her go, believing that Sir John "will not carry matters to excess" as long as Lady Johnson "is kept a kind of hostage."³ Robert Watts pressed Schuyler repeatedly for her release but to no avail.⁴ June 16th Lady Johnson, herself, applied to Washington for permission to go to New York City. She stated that she would "prefer her captivity" under him rather than General Schuyler whose "repeated threats were too indecent and cruel to be expected of a gentleman" and who acted more out of ill nature to Sir John than from any other reason.⁵ However, Washington did not see fit to interfere in her behalf and she remained in Albany until December, when Schuyler and the Albany Committee decided that as far as they were concerned she might go down to the City.⁶ They gave her a pass to Fishkill where the Provincial Congress was then sitting and to whom she was obliged to refer before she could proceed on her journey. Sometime in December she left Albany with her sister, a nurse, two servants and three small children, the youngest only a few months old.⁷ They arrived in Fishkill but the Provincial Congress refused to let them proceed. They, however, gave Lady Johnson a choice of four places of residence, Fishkill, David Johnson's in Dutchess County, Cad-

1. Jones: Hist. of N.Y. Vol.I, p.p. 77, 588.
2. ibid. pp. 588-589.
3. Letter of Schuyler to Washington June 15, 1776, Am. Arch. Ser. 4, Vol.VI, p.913.
4. ibid; Jones: Hist. of N.Y. Vol.I, p.589.
5. Am. Arch. Ser.4, Vol.VI, p.913.
6. Journal^{by} Prov. Congress, Vol.II, p.281.
7. Journal of N.Y. Provincial Congress, Vol.I, p.761.

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wallader Colden's in Ulser County, or Mr. Barclay's at Walkill. Mr. Tappan was appointed a committee to devise means to escort Lady Johnson to some "safe place of residence." He tried to persuade her from going to Walkill, the place she had decided upon, but she was determined to take advantage of the Provincial Congress' resolve, and escorted by the reluctant Mr. Tappan she ² proceeded to the Barclay farm.

Sometime in January, with her family and servants, she eluded the Provincial Congress and in disguise reached the city, where she was met by Sir John. The severe weather proved too much for the youngest child, who died just before the party reached the city, and a second child died a few weeks ³ later. ⁴ Early in the Spring of 1777 Sir John returned to Canada much embittered by the treatment which had been accorded to his wife.

The King's Royal Regiment of New York, quartered on the inhabitants of Lachine, St Ann, and Point Claire passed an active winter. Major Grey ⁵ the commanding officer during Sir John's absence, tried to whip the new recruits into shape. The active men were drilled and initiated into the mystery ⁶ of marching on snow shoes; at rare intervals they were allowed to have target ⁷ practice "with balls." Even the old men attached to the corps, who were incapable of learning the exercises had their duties, being required on fine days ⁸ to "air the ammunition." ⁹

1. Journal of N.Y. Prov. Congress. Vol. I, p. 391; Jones: Hist. of N.Y. Vol. I, pp. 76-81.
2. Journal of N.Y. Prov. Cong. Vol. I, p. 761.
3. The youngest child was born in Albany after Sir John went to Canada. See Adventures of a Lady, extracts given in App. of De Peyster's address before N.Y. Hist. Soc. 1860.
4. Jones: Hist. of N.Y. Vol. I, pp. 80, 81.
5. Orderly Book. Nov. 7th.
6. ibid. Mar. 27th.
7. ibid. Jan. 4th.
8. ibid. May 31st; June 2nd.
9. ibid. May 6th.

In March the English ministry sent over to Canada the plans for the summer campaign of 1777. It envolved a movement from the north of an army under Burgoyne by the way of Lake Champlain, then down the Hudson to open communications with New York City. To facilitate Burgoyne's advance a second force under St Leger, with a base at Oswego was to sweep down the Mohawk valley gathering in supplies and the disaffected whom Sir John assured Burgoyne would come rushing in to swell the ranks of the two armies.

May 12th Sir John was ordered to hold his corps in readiness to march under St Leger and in accord with these instructions, June 1st the entire regiment removed to Lachine and was placed under the command of Colonel St Leger, who proved to be a strict disciplinarian. He pointed out to the Royal New Yorkers that the surest method of making the "honorable zeal they had lately manifested to their King" take the effect they wished for "as well as to repossess themselves of the peace and property which had been most illegally wrest from them" was to give a constant and unwearied attention to the learning of military discipline which would give them a "superiority over the confused rabble" they would have to deal with. In accord with these views he required the corps to begin their exercises at four thirty in the morning, but even then after each soldier had been provided, by St Leger's orders, with a black stock the parades were still slovenly and unsoldierly.

1. Germain to Carleton, Mar. 26th, 1777. Can. Arch. 1885. p. 235.
2. Burgoyne, Aug. 26th, 1777 wrote to Germaine that Sir John's expectations of loyalty were not well grounded. Can. Arch. 1883, p. 76.
3. *ibid.* 1885, p. 257.
4. Mr. Siebert states that Sir John's corps joined St Leger at Oswego. Siebert: Loyalists, p. 7. The Orderly Book shows that the corps was joined to St Leger's command at Lachine, almost two months before the expedition reached Oswego. Orderly Book, May 31st, June 2nd.
5. *ibid.* June 2nd & 3rd.
6. *ibid.* June 6th.
7. *ibid.* June 2nd.
8. *ibid.* June 15th.

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June 21st the expedition which at this time consisted of forces
 from the 34th regiment, Sir John's corps and a company of Canadians, set out
 for Carleton Island at the entrance of Lake Ontario where they were to rendez-
 vous and meet a force from the 8th regiment and some Hanau Chasseurs. Sir
 John's corps made the trip up the St Lawrence in forty eight batteaux with
 four hundred and forty barrels of provisions, the seven barrels of rum allotted
 to them being placed with the officers "for security." July 8th the expedi-
 tion reached Carleton Island where St Leger was appointed temporarily, Bri-
 adier General. Sir John was made second in command of the expedition, while
 Daniel Claus, Sir John's brother-in-law, who had joined the expedition at
 Lachine, and who on his trip up the St Lawrence had gathered up one hundred
 and fifty Mississaugas and Six Nation Indians, was placed in charge of all Ind-
 ians who might join the expedition.

They camped on the island for eleven days, drilling, mending
 leaky boats and baking vast quantities of bread before they set out for Oswego.
 At the mouth of Salmon Creek about twenty miles east of Oswego, St Leger, with
 the detachments from the 8th and 34th regiments, and about two hundred and
 fifty Indians, set out on an alert across the country, in the hopes that Fort
 Stanwix might be taken by surprise, while the remainder of the expedition

1. Orderly Book. June 19th.
2. Orderly Book. June 19th & 21st.
3. Claus to Sec'y Knox, Oct. 16, 1777. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 713.
4. Stone says that the 8th probably joined the expedition at Oswego. See note to Orderly Book, Nov. 8. This is a mistake since the 8th or King's regiment was at Carleton Island. ibid. July 10.
5. They joined the expedition at Carleton Island. ibid. July 10, 19
6. ibid. July 19th.
7. ibid. July 8th.
8. ibid. July 10th.
9. Letter of Claus to Knox. Oct. 16, 1777. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 718.
10. Orderly Book. July 12th.
11. ibid. July 10th & 19th.
12. Letter of Claus to Knox. Oct. 16, 1777. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 713, 20. Orderly Book, July 19th.

1

with the artillery and provisions proceeded by way of Oswego. Brant with three hundred half starved Indians joined the main force at Oswego and while these new arrivals were being fed and made ready to move, an urgent request was received from St Leger ordering Claus to join him immediately as his Indians were very riotous. The messenger, Captain Tice, explained the trouble by saying that St Leger had given the Indians a quart of liquor each. Claus was not in a position to leave Oswego where the Indians were gathering in and in need of his control; accordingly St Leger was obliged to give up his alert and join the ² main body at Oswego with his unruly allies.

3

July 31st the expedition passed Oswego Falls and two days later the van guard appeared before Fort Stanwix. The main body was detained by being forced to make a detour of twenty five miles through the dense woods, since the **Americans** to delay the enemy's approach had cut trees and dammed up Wood ⁴ Creek for twenty miles.

Fort Stanwix had been notified of the approach of St Leger by an Oneida half breed named Thomas Spencer, who had come directly from Canada where ⁵ he had been sent to obtain information. The fort had been rebuilt during the ⁶ summer, and on the day St Leger's van guard ^{appeared} reinforcements and provisions arrived, ⁷ Before they succeeded in getting the provisions into the fort the Captain of the batteaux was taken prisoner and one of his men killed. However ⁸ the provisions were saved and the reinforcements swelled Colonel Gansevoort's force to seven hundred and fifty men.

1. Orderly Book, July 19th. Letter of Claus to Knox, Oct. 16, 1777. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 719.
2. ibid. pp. 719-20.
3. Orderly Book. July 31st.
4. Letter of Claus to Knox, Oct. 16, 1777. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p. 720.
5. Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol. II, p. 66.
6. Stone: Life of Brant, Vol. I, p. 299.
7. Lieutenant Colonel Willet's account: extracts in Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol. II, pp. 66, 67.
8. Stone: Life of Brant, Vol. I, p. 229.

When St Leger arrived he ordered the fort to surrender. He issued a proclamation which dwelt in glowing terms on the strength of his detachment; invited the well disposed inhabitants to join his forces and promised protection even to the "timid inhabitants" if they remained at home and did not obstruct the operation of the "King's forces".¹ But the garrison refused to surrender, the proclamation was so bombastic that the besieged rightly surmised that St Leger did not have sufficient forces and artillery to take the fort. On the 4th and 5th firing began and two Americans were killed and seven wounded.²

For at least a month before St Leger's appearance New York had been in a state of panic. Invaded from the north and west with a large disaffected population, repeated appeals were sent to Washington and to sister states for troops to help repel the invaders. General Schuyler who was in the north at Ft. Edward, had at this time less than three thousand Continental troops and about thirteen hundred militia to oppose Burgoyne's advance. To add to his embarrassment Tryon County was constantly calling on him for some regulars, advising that their militia would lay down their arms unless supported by a force of Continental troops. The situation became so critical that Schuyler recommended that Washington be urged to send five hundred regulars into Tryon County.³ However the matter was delayed and the Whig Committee grew more panicky as St Leger drew nearer.⁴ The disaffected among them were numerous and even militia men had taken the oath of secrecy and allegiance to Great Britain. The committees of the different districts sent out to any organization whom they thought might help, repeated appeals for aid. Their spirit was

1. St Leger's Proc'l, printed in Campbell: Annals of Tryon County. pp. 76-78.
2. Willet's account. Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.II, pp.66,67.
3. Schuyler's letter to Council of Safety, July 24, 1777. Clinton papers, Vol.II, pp. 144-5n. John McKesson to Gov. Clinton, ibid. pp. 144-148.
4. John Jay to Governor Morris July 21, 1777 printed in Stone: Life of Brant, Vol.I, pp.211-212.

so "pusillanimous" that Schuyler declared that nothing less than marching the whole army into that quarter would satisfy them.

August 2nd Governor Clinton ordered General Herkheimer to call out five hundred or more of his militia to protect the frontier. At the same time he sent Colonel Wynkoop into Tryon County to co-operate with General Herkheimer in raising the spirits of the men as well as the number required. However before Governor Clinton's instructions arrived the Whigs had decided to act on their own initiative. A letter from Thomas Spencer had been received ² ~~begging~~ them to hasten to the relief of Fort Stanwix, and pointing out the evil consequences which would follow if the Fort fell into the enemy's hands. The ³ danger being imminent and no outside help in sight Tryon County arose to the occasion, and on August 3rd General Herkheimer left Fort Dayton with a force of militia and some Oneida Indians with a determination to relieve the besieged ⁴ fort.

On the evening of August 5th Herkheimer's forces encamped within eight miles of the Fort, at Oriskany, and sent messengers informing the besieged that they would move forward the ~~next~~ day when the Fort fired a signal of three guns. Unfortunately the messengers did not succeed in getting into the Fort until almost noon on the 6th. In the meantime the militia under Herkheimer drew figety. The inferior officers urged an immediate advance. The General wished to wait until the signal from the Fort should be given. At last, however, being accused of cowardice he ordered an advance.

1. Schuyler to Courtland July 18&21, printed in Stone: *Life of Brant*, Vol. I, pp. 211-212.
2. Clinton Papers Vol. II, pp. 164-165.
3. Thomas Spencer to Tryon County Committee, July 29, 1777, printed in Stone: *Life of Brant*. Vol. I, p. 216.
4. Clinton Papers, Vol. II, pp. 191-192.
5. Willet's Account, Simms: *Frontiersmen*, Vol. II, pp. 66-67.
Clinton Papers, Vol. II, pp. 203, 212, 213.
6. Simms: *Frontiersmen*. Vol. II, p. 69.

1

The enemy had been apprised of Herkheimer's march the day before, and to prevent the militia from reinforcing the garrison, Sir John, with a force consisting of about eight hundred Indians and a relatively small number of white troops, marched out to dispute the militia's advance. ² He established an ambuscade about a mile east of the fort where Herkheimer's men had to cross a ravine in the woods, spanned by a log causeway. Sir John placed his forces on both sides of the road on higher ground where they were completely hidden by the dense woods. Unconscious of danger the militia started to cross the ravine and about two thirds of their number had reached the opposite slope before they were aware of their hidden enemies. The baggage wagons with supplies for the fort were on the causeway and prevented the rear from reaching the opposite slope. Under these favorable circumstances Sir John began the attack and victory was almost within his grasp when a heavy shower put an end to the fighting which had been going on for almost an hour.

The flint lock guns refusing to work for some time, General Herkheimer had a chance to rally his forces. Fighting was renewed and, when Sir John was reinforced by a detachment of the Royal New Yorkers whom the militia men recognized as their former Tory neighbors, the conquest became a butchery. ³ Fortunately for Herkheimer's forces the delayed messenger, having reached the fort, a sortie was made under Colonel Willet to favor the militia's advance.

⁴ Two encampments were routed and much plunder was secured. When the Indians heard that their camp was attacked they left the fight, and Sir John deserted by his allies retreated, leaving the field in possession of the militia. How-

1. By Mary Brant. See Claus's letter to Sec'y Knox, Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p. 721.

2. ibid.

3. Campbell: Annals of Tryon County. pp.78,79. Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.II. pp.70-76.

4. Claus to Knox. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p.721 Clinton Papers. Vol.II, p.203, 213; Willet's Account, Remembrancer, 1777,pp.443-450: Plunder computed to amount to 1000 pounds was secured. Among the articles taken was Sir John's Orderly Book.

ever the engagement had proved so disasterous that the advance to the Fort was
 1 abandoned.

The night of the battle, St Leger, availing himself of the outcome, tried to gain immediate possession of the fort, but Colonel Gansevoort
 2 refused all offers, and the invaders settled down to prosecute the siege. A few days later Sir John proposed that he march down the Mohawk valley with two hundred men and a force of Indians under Claus, in order to follow up the blow delivered at Oriskany, but St Leger would not permit him, as he could not spare
 3 the men. However a "flag" was sent under ensign Walter N. Butler, ten soldiers
 4 and three Indians to invite the inhabitants to submit and come into camp. They arrived at Rudolph Shoemakers, a Loyalist, who lived about ten miles from Fort Dayton. The party had succeeded in gaining some adherents when the Commander of Fort Dayton received information concerning Butler's force, and immediately seized them as spies. A few days later General Arnold, advancing with an army to the relief of Fort Stanwix arrived at Fort Dayton and the so called spies
 were condemned to death. The disaffected who had not already joined St Leger
 5 were forced to return to their allegiance.

One of the prisoners condemned to death was a half witted boy, Hanyost Schuyler. Arnold promised him his liberty if he would return to St. Leger's camps and make exaggerated statements as to the number of reinforcements approaching.
 6 Circumstances favored Hanyost for the Indians had become

1. Clinton Papers, Vol.II, p.203.

2. Claus to Knox. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol. VIII, p.721.

3. Butler had an "address" to the people of Tryon County signed by Sir John, Claus and Colonel Butler. They declared that they wished to restore peace and would forget the past. They asked the inhabitants to help overcome the "mulish obstinacy" of the garrison in order to prevent an Indian massacre. Remembrancer, 1777, Vol.IV, p.395. ¹⁷⁷⁷

4. Claus to Knox, Oct 16th Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p.721.

5. ibid. Stone: Life of Brant, Vol.I, pp.245-256.

6. Remembrancer, 1777, Vol.V, pp. 447-448.

1

discouraged and were anxious to return to Oswego. They had lost many braves
 2 in the fight, and no prospect for revenge was in sight, since St Leger's
 3 six pounders had no effect on the fort, and Colonel Gansvoort could not be
 scared into surrendering. By Colonel's Willet's sortie they had lost all their
 4 blankets and even their shirts, having gone into battle stripped to the waist.
 The nights were chilly in that climate, even in August and food and rum had be-
 come scarce, so they welcomed Hanyost with open arms and added to his exagge-
 rations, They became so unruly that St Leger afterwards reported that "they
 5 grew furious and became more formidable than the enemy" he had to expect. On
 the 22nd of August St Leger raised the seige and retreated in great confusion
 6 toward Oswego leaving behind him his tents and considerable baggage.

Sir John's first attempt to relieve the Loyalists in the Mohawk valley was a failure. In fact their position was made much more precarious. The disaffected who had withdrawn to the woods were fined and punished upon their return, the militia men being sent to the Provincial Congress for punish-
 7 ment. Notice was posted that no one should sell anything to disaffected per-
 8 sons. The New York Council of Safety sent notice to the Committee of Sequestra-
 tion for Tryon County to take charge of the property of persons gone over to
 the enemy, and to dispose of it. At the same time they were empowered to re-

1. Claus to Knox. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p.722.
2. The Indians had 33 killed and 29 wounded. ^{The} Senecas lost several of their chief warriors. Butler to Carleton, Aug. 15, 1777, printed in Wilkinson's memoirs, Vol.I, p.205n.
3. St Leger had with him two six pounders & 2 cohorts. Orderly Book, July 17th. He found they had only the "power of teasing". The six pounders were then converted into "howitzers" but their range was not great enough to damage the Fort. St Leger to Burgoine, Aug. 27, ¹⁷⁷⁷ printed in Wilkinson's memoirs. Vol.I, 212, 3.
4. Claus to Knox. Oct. 16, ¹⁷⁷⁷ Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII p.721.
5. St Leger to Burgoine, Aug. 27, ¹⁷⁷⁷ printed in Wilkinson's Memoirs. Vol.I, pp.212-14.
6. Col. Gansevoort's report to Gov. Clinton. Aug. 22, ¹⁷⁷⁷ Clinton Papers Vol.II, p.254.
7. Com. of Tryon Co. to Gov. Clinton. ibid. Vol.II, pp.283-284.
8. Resolution of Schoharie Com. Nov. 24, 1777, printed in Simms Frontiersmen, Vol.II, p.53.

move the "wives and children of the disaffected persons to such place or places
as they shall conceive best for the security of the state."¹

The experience through which Tryon County had just passed is the only defence which can be offered for these harsh measures. The Tories who remained lived in isolation and gave refuge to spies and scouting parties. The majority of the men having joined the enemy, many of the Tory families were destitute and a charge on their Whig neighbors who could scarcely be expected to feed the families of men who were in arms against them.

1. Letter to Committee of ... Sequestration for Tryon County, Aug. 31, 1777. Printed in Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol. II, p. 51.

Chapter V.

After the fruitless seige of Fort Stanwix St Leger retreated to Montreal by way of Oswego. September 21st he was ordered to join Burgoyne with ¹ his own regiment, the German Chasseurs and Sir John's battalion. However these reinforcements did not reach Burgoyne and thus escaped the fate of the army which was surrendered at Saratoga in October.

After Burgoyne's defeat Sir John's activities were directed to the care of the Loyalists, who at that time began to arrive in Canada in large numbers. ² January 12, 1778 these refugees were attached to Sir John's Corps and until the summer of 1779 the warrants issued for the relief of loyalists were ³ paid to him. ⁴ Wallace estimates that by the autumn of 1778 there were more than one thousand refugees, men, women and children, exclusive of some two thousand who had enlisted. ⁵ Many of these refugees were destitute and became a charge upon the government. July 1, 1779 there were eight hundred and fifty three loyalists not enrolled in any corps receiving gratuitous food and shelter. ⁶

When the full tide of loyalist emigration set in Sir John asked

1. Can. Arch. 1885, p. 286; Clans letter to Knox. Nov.6, 1777, Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII, p. 723-5.
2. Wallace: United Empire Loyalists. p.91.
3. Can. Arch. 1886. p.629.
4. Register of warrants issued for extraordinary services of the army. Can. Arch. 1886, p. 655-7.
5. Wallace: United Empire Loyalists. p.92.
6. They were distributed as follows; St John 209; Chambly 27; Montreal 208; Pointe Claire 126; Machiche 196; Sorel and Nouvelle Beauche 87; total 853. Can. Arch. 1888, p.742.

permission to form these refugees into a second battalion. Accordingly on
 1
 October 15, 1778 rolls were prepared to muster them in but "pretentions"
 among them made it necessary to abandon the carrying out of the plan at that
 2
 time. Sir John was advised to wait until Spring and in the meantime to
 3
 observe economy in granting subsidies. Sir John was never permitted to carry
 4
 out this plan. The loyalists, instead of being formed into one battalion
 5
 were formed into or joined to different corps.

Sir John's battalion was augmented from time to time by new
 6
 arrivals from over the borders, until in the spring of 1779 it had almost
 7
 reached its full strength. In May of the same year Sir John was ordered to
 prepare his men for active service. In order that nothing might interfere
 he was ordered to turn over to Captain MacAlpin, who had been appointed to
 the command of the several irregular corps of loyalists, all lists and papers
 8
 relating to them and to write to the different corps announcing the change.
 9
 In accord with these instructions Sir John proceeded from Lachine to Sorel
 where he met Captain MacAlpin and delivered to him, June 1st, 1779, the com-
 10
 mand of all loyalists.

1. Can. Arch. 1886, p. 631.
2. Ibid., p. 549.
3. Ibid., p. 405.
4. As late as Feb. 21st, 1780, Sir John complained that the promise to form the loyalists into a second battalion had never been carried out. Can. Arch., 1888, p. 648.
5. Leake's Company was formed May, 1779, Can. Arch. 1887, p. 442; in Feb., 1780, Twiss was ordered to form a corps of loyalists, Can. Arch., 1888, p. 663.
6. During the summer of 1778 Rev. John McKenna brought in loyalists to join Sir John's and McLean's Corps. Can. Arch., 1886, p. 655; in May Southerland returned with recruits, *ibid.*, 1888, p. 645; Garnett during the same summer brought 39 men to join Sir John. *Ibid.*, p. 643.
7. Ibid., p. 644.
8. Ibid., p. 661.
9. Ibid., p. 721.
10. Ibid., p. 684.

General Haldimand had relieved Sir John in order that he might be sent to establish a post at Oswego to secure the Lakes and the country of the Six Nations, but the General, duped by information circulated by the Americans to the effect that Canada would be attacked by way of the Connecticut River, changed his plan and kept Sir John in the East, leaving Oswego and the surrounding country inadequately supplied with troops.¹

In 1778 the Colonial frontiers were harrowed by many destructive Indian and Tory raids.² To prevent a recurrence, Congress directed Washington to take measures to protect the inhabitants and to chastise the Indians for their depredations.³ Acting on the recommendation, Washington sent a force, in the summer of 1779, under General Sullivan to "effectually chastise and intimidate the hostile nations, to countenance and encourage the friendly ones and to relieve our frontiers from their depredations." To attain these results Sullivan was ordered to cut off the Five Nation's settlements, destroy their crops, and "to do them every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit."⁴ As has been previously stated General Haldimand expecting an attack

1. General Haldimand's conference with deputies from Five Nations Quebec, Aug. 20, 1779. Docs. Rel. to Col. hist. of N.Y. Vol.VIII p. 776-7.
2. Gov. Clinton wrote John Jay Nov. 17th. 1778 that Cherry Valley was the "seventh valuable settlement destroyed this season---- if depredations continued this state will be unable to furnish any supplies to the army as hitherto they have depended on it for bread." Clinton Papers, Vol.IV, p.289-90: Among the settlements destroyed were Andrustown, Wyoming, Springfield, and German Flatts. See Winsor; America, Vol.VI,p.633 ff.
3. Washington to Gates, Mar.6, 1779, Ford; Washington, Vol.VII,354.
4. Washington to Gates, Mar.6, 1779, Ford; Washington, Vol.VII,354; DePeyster says that Sullivan's ultimate military objective must have been Fort Niagara and that he gave over his plan on account of Sir John's approach from Montreal with troops. De Peyster; Sir John Johnson, p.lv-lvi. Washington's instructions show that the capture of Niagara was not part of the plan. See above letter to Gates.

from the East, had detained Sir John and his corps and the Lake regions during^w the summer of 1779 had few troops. However a small force of Indians and white troops under Brant and Butler¹ left Niagara to check Sullivan's advance. At New Town, fine miles from the present town of Elmira, the two forces met and after a sharp skirmish the Indians and their allies were forced to retreat, leaving the country of the Five Nations free for Sullivan to devastate.

September 1st Sir John was ordered to advance to the aid of the Five Nations.² About the middle of September he left Lachine with the Chasseurs,³ the 34th and 47th regiments, and his own battalion, and arrived at Carleton Island September 26th⁴ with eight hundred and sixty "picked" troops, but too late to offer any embarrassment to General Sullivan who, having finished his work of destruction, had started home. Sir John, erroneously believing that Sullivan intended to leave a post at Tioga, started for Ascerotous with provisions for fifteen hundred men for six weeks, intending from that central point to make an attack.⁵ However the lateness of the season and the difficulties of transporting artillery caused him to abandon the plan, and to halt at Oswego with the intention of cutting off the Oneidas and their villages,⁷

1. Stone states that Sir John was present at the battle of New Town, and probably also Col. Guy Johnson, Stone: Life of Brant, Vol.II,p.19. Simms states that "Johnson" was present, Simms: Frontiersmen, Vol.II,p.251. Neither Sir John nor Guy Johnson were present, See Can. Arch. 1887,p.92; 1888,p.647.
2. Can. Arch; 1888,p.662.
3. Bolton who commanded at Fort Niagara was ordered to send a detachment to join Sir John. Can. Arch. 1886,p.48.
4. Can. Arch. 1888,p.647.
5. ibid. 1886,p.48.
6. ibid. 1888,p.647.
7. ibid. 1888,p.543; The Oneidas" had uniformly and obstantly supported and fought for the rebels, notwithstanding the united remonstrances and threats of the Five Nations joined to every effort on our part to restrain them." Letter of Haldimand Nov. 2nd, 1779 cited in Winsor: America, Vol.VI,p. 672.

but since the Five Nations wavered and were reluctant to attack their kinsman,
¹
nothing was accomplished.

General Haldimand did not consider Sir John's expedition a failure.
He commended him for the "prudence and celerity of his measures" and pointed
out that the purpose of the expedition was accomplished if foundations were laid
²
for operations in the Lake regions the following spring. Late in the autumn,
Sir John returned with his corps to Montreal.

During the winter of 1779-80 Sir John was planning to raise a
³
second battalion. At this time recruiting activities were being pushed aggressively, and in their efforts to expand many rivalries were engendered among the different loyalist corps. John Butler, Sir John's old neighbor on the Mohawk, was one of the most aggressive in his recruiting methods. On different occasions he forcibly detained men intended for Sir John's corps and enrolled
⁴
them in the "Rangers". Major Rogers deceitfully promised commissions and
⁵
large pay to loyalists to induce them to join his corps. One of his recruiting
⁶
agents enlisted mere boys who had been brought in as prisoners and formed
⁷
whom Captain Law had found homes. Since every prisoner was a potential soldier and as such worth a bounty, the Indians with misguided zeal brought in "men
unfit to bear arms, some so old that they have lost all their faculties except
⁸
the power of eating the King's provisions and wearing out clothes."

1. Can. Arch. 1888, p.647; 1887, p.93; In the winter of 1779-80 400 Oneidas were removed from their castles and established near Schenectady at public cost. This measure was taken to prevent the Oneidas from being too greatly tempted to go over to the enemy. Winsor: America, Vol. VI, p.672.
2. Can. Arch. 1888, p.642.
3. ibid. 1888, p.648.
4. ibid. pp. 643, 644, 662; 1886, p.594.
5. ibid. 1888, p.685, 750.
6. ibid. p.885.
7. The prisoners who could be trusted were enrolled into the different corps. ibid. p.646.
8. ibid. 1888, p.887.

In the spring of 1780 word was received in Canada that the loyalists remaining in the vicinity of Johnstown were to be formed into a corps of Rangers. It was reported that those refusing to enlist would be sent to "Albany in irons", their houses destroyed and their property confiscated by Congress. The Johnstown loyalists appealed to their friends in Canada, and asked that a pilot might be sent to guide them across the borders. General Haldimand at first, planned to send twenty men to inform the loyalists that a vessel would be sent to the "Lake" early in May to receive them, but, when Sir John asked permission to lead a force to Johnstown to favor the escape of loyalists and for "other purposes" , Haldimand consented, and the understanding seems to have been that the rescued loyalists and prisoners who might be taken should enroll in Sir John's new battalion.

The success of the plan depended upon secrecy, since the Mohawks were prone to hold "friendly talk" with members of the Oneida tribe, who promptly reported all gossip in regard to potential attacks to their allies, the Colonists. April 6th men were sent to Johnstown to prepare the loyalists for the expedition which was to be sent to their relief. Since the proposed route was by Lake Champlain the expedition could not start until the Lake was open for navigation. Consequently it was May before the expedition left

1. Can.Arch. 1887, p.347.
2. ibid. 1888, p.663.
3. ibid. 1888, p.648; Haldimand wrote that the expedition was sent to harass the enemy and to give the loyalists a chance to escape. Can.Arch. 1887, p. 291.
4. ibid. 1888, p.664.
5. ibid. 1887, p.141.
6. ibid. 1888, p.649.
7. ibid. p.664.

¹ Montreal. The force consisted of three hundred white troops and a number of
² Mohawk Indians, whose recent losses, through Sullivan's invasion of their
³ country, made them willing to join the expedition. The force was well
⁴ equipped with arms and munitions, and with dry canteens for their powder and
⁵ "oiled linen or bladder to make the corking more effectual." Captain Scot
⁶ of the 53rd regiment was 2nd in command. May 6th the detachment passed
⁷ Pointe au Fer. Five days later at West Bay they sank their batteaux to pre-
⁸ serve them and began their cross country march to Johnstown.
⁹

⁹ May 22nd at daybreak Sir John fell upon the Mohawk Valley near
¹⁰ Johnstown, and proceeded up the river burning as he went. On the north bank
¹¹ of the Mohawk Valley for a distance of ten miles only a few houses were spared.

1. Can.Arch. 1887, p.142.
2. ibid. 1888, p.665; the 300 men were made up of detachments from the 34th, 53d, and Sir John's regiment, Can.Arch. 1887, p.443.
3. ibid. 1887, p.141; Haldimand feared that the Indians would try to retaliate for their recent losses. He wrote Sir John that the Indians must be effectually restrained from injuring women and children. "All men in arms, and particularly those who are known to be most instrumental and active in corrupting the minds of the unhappy people must expect the consequences of their crimes either to fall or be made prisoners. The latter is certainly the most desirable." Can.Arch. 1888, p.665.
4. Maj. Carleton wrote that no party could be better equipped. Can.Arch. 1887, p.329.
5. ibid. 1888, p.665.
6. ibid. p.664.
7. ibid. 1887, p.329.
8. Cap. Young waited with the ships near Crown Point in order to meet Sir John on his return. Can.Arch. 1887, p.493.
9. Seibert says the inhabitants with the exception of the loyalists were completely surprised. Seibert, Loyalists p. 23. This seems to be a mistake. May 19th Van Schaick in a letter to Gov. Clinton enclosed information to the effect that the enemy on May 16th was at Crown Point. Clinton Papers Vol. V. pp. 719-20; See also Can.Arch. 1887, p.275.
10. Letter of John Harper to Col. Van Schaick. May 22d, 1780. Clinton Papers, Vol. V. pp. 737-8.
11. Hough: Northern Invasion. p.29.

1

Many disaffected joined Sir John and several prisoners were taken. The evening of the 22d Sir John withdrew in a northerly direction to Mayfield, about 2 ten miles from Johnstown, and encamped, no doubt waiting to give assistance 3 to a number of Indians sent out from Carleton Island to cooperate with the 4 expedition. However, being threatened by the militia, Sir John moved off 5 toward Lake Champlain with his rescued loyalists, prisoners, and negroes. 6

Soon after Sir John's return to Canada, a second batallion was added to the King's Royal Regiment of New York. Captain Ross was promoted 7 and became Major of the new corps. The men to compose the second batallion 8 were ordered to go to Coteau du lac. In July 1780 Major Mac Alpin, who 9 had charge of the loyalists, died, and Sir John was ordered to take charge

1. Clinton Papers, Vol.V.p.745; Hough says that the main object of the expedition was to recover a quantity of plate and treasure buried at Johnson Hall. Hough: Northern Invasion p.29. Stone says that two barrels of silver were recovered from the Hall and transported to Canada in knapsacks. Stone: Brant Vol.II, p.80. The story of the silver may be true, but its recovery was not the main object of the expedition. See Can.Arch.1880, p.648; 1887, p.291. Sir John's papers had been recovered in 1778. Can.Arch.1888,p.644.
2. Clinton Papers. Vol.V.p.746.
3. A force under Crawford, consisting of 71 Indians, left Carleton Island about May 9, for the Mohawk to cooperate with Sir John. Can.Arch.1887,p.275.
4. Van Schaick in a letter to Gov.Clinton May 27,1780,tells of the trouble he had in "stimulating" the militia to join him. Their reluctance and the lack of supplies made the pursuit after Sir John impossible. Clinton Papers. Vol.V,pp761-2.
5. Haldimand wrote June 6, 1780 that Sir John had returned with 150 loyalists and many prisoners without the loss of a man. Can. Arch. 1887,pp474,546. Stone states that several Americans were killed by Sir John's troops. "Nine aged men were slain--- of whom four were upward of eighty years." Stone: Brant:Vol.II,p.78.
6. Eight negroes were brought in and sold by the Indians. Can. Arch. 1888,p.649.
7. Can. Arch. 1887,p.44.
8. ibid. 1886.p.607; The commissions for the 2d battalion were not issued until the following year, ibid. 1888,p.670. The 2d battalion was not complete in May, 1783. ibid. 1888,p.682.
9. Can. Arch. 1888,p.665.

¹ temporarily. General Haldimand delayed appointing a successor to Mac Alpin, since he wished as many loyalists as possible to join Sir John's second battalion. ² However, Major Nairne was finally appointed and took charge of the ³ loyalists September 6, only a few days before Sir John started on a second expedition to the Mohawk Valley.

August 24th General Haldimand wrote to Sir John asking his advice as to means which might best be employed to cut off the Oneidas and to destroy ⁴ the crops upon which the enemy depended. Sir John proposed that he be permitted to lead an expedition from Oswego, through the Indian country into the Schoharie Valley to devastate the crops in that section. He suggested that the expedition return by the way of the Mohawk Valley devastating as it ⁵ marched. In accord with this plan Sir John left Montreal September 11th for ⁶ Carleton Island. ⁷ Secrecy was considered so essential to the success of the

1. Can. Arch. 1888, p. 724.

2. ibid. p.665.

3. ibid. p.724.

4. ibid. p.666.

5. ibid. p.650: Siebert says that this expedition of Sir John's was one of those sent out for the "express purpose" of rescuing parties of loyalists from hostile communities. Siebert: Dispersion of the American Tories. Miss. Valley Hist. Rev. Vol. I, p.186-7. The question of rescuing the loyalists in the expedition must have been of secondary importance, at least. Haldimand wrote Aug. 31, 1780 "In consequence of the treacherous conduct of the Oneidas and the impossibility of effecting anything against the enemy while they remain in the rebels' interest" he had decided to send a force under Sir John to cut off the Indians and to destroy the crops in the Mohawk Valley. Can. Arch. 1886, p.523: On this point see also Can. Arch. 1887, p.97; 1886, p.694; De Peyster thinks Sir John's expedition was part of a general attack depending on a demonstration from Clinton, which failed, due to Arnold's inability to deliver over West Point. DePeyster: Fox's Mills p. clviii. This seems impossible. I can find no documentary evidence to support this view.

6. Can. Arch. 1887, p.142.

7. It was feared that the Caughnawagas would inform the Colonists of the advance of the expedition. Can. Arch. 1888, p.666.

expedition, that Brigadier Allan Mac Lean, under whose authority Sir John was at that time, was duped by General Haldimand as to Sir John's intentions, much to the Brigadier's chagrin.

At Carleton Island a detachment from Frazer's regiment joined the expedition, and Sir John continued on to Oswego where they were to rendezvous and to meet the Indians and the white troops from Niagara which were to compose the greater part of the force. The sickly state of the garrison at Niagara delayed the march of the troops from that place and the entire expedition was consequently delayed. However, on October 2d they left Oswego. The artillery and supplies were transported in boats as far as Oswego Creek, while the troops and Indians kept pace on the shore. On October 6th the expedition reached Onodoga Creek, and eleven days later they entered Schoharie valley from the South, and began devastating. The valley was protected by three forts and in them the inhabitants were sheltered. Fortunately for them Sir John in his rapid march did not succeed in capturing any one of the three. On the afternoon of the 18th the expedition left the desolated Schoharie valley, passed Fort Hunter, near the junction of the Schoharie and Mohawk rivers, and marched westward up the Mohawk valley burning as it marched. The night of the 18th Sir John encamped on the south side of the river near Anthony's Nose.

1. Can. Arch. 1888, p.667.
2. ibid. p.651.
3. ibid. p.650.
4. ibid. 1886, p.52.
5. ibid. 1888, p.651; 1886, p.740.
6. ibid. 1888, p.651; The vessels were ordered to wait off Oswego from Oct. 20th to 30th to receive the expedition on its return. Can. Arch. 1887, p.279; 1888, p.651.
7. ibid. p.651.
8. Letter of Veedek Oct. 17, 1780, Clinton Papers, Vol. VI, p. 303; Letter of Clinton to Schuyler Oct. 18, 1780, Clinton Papers, Vol. VI, p. 304.
9. Court Martial of Gen. Van Rensselaer, ibid. p.695.
10. Court Martial of Van Rensselaer. Clinton Papers, Vol. VI, p.694.

General Van Rensselaer, who had left Schenectady with the intentions of intercepting the enemy, by forced marches reached the Mohawk River ford about a mile below Fort Rensselaer near noon on the 19th. Sir John had previously crossed the river and defeated a small force which had come out from Fort Paris to delay his advance. Colonel Brown, the leader, and thirty nine men were killed. Van Rensselaer from the south side of the river heard the firing and saw the smoke and flames of burning buildings. His troops, weary and discouraged by the news of Colonel Brown's defeat crossed the river so "tardily" that Sir John's forces were not engaged until near sunset, when they were overtaken at Klock's Place. The smoke from the burning buildings hastened the approaching darkness. On account of the great confusion that ensued among Van Rensselaer's troops, after about thirty minutes the firing was discontinued, and the American forces were withdrawn to higher ground to encamp for the night. Taking advantage of the darkness, Sir John, leaving his artillery, baggage and cattle, crossed over to the south side of the river and began a hurried retreat westward. Early the next morning a detachment, under Colonel Du Bois marched after Sir John; Van Rensselaer followed with the remainder of the forces, and on the 21st Governor Clinton arrived and took charge of the pursuit, but all to no avail. A force of fifty men under Captain Vrooman made an attempt to

1. Clinton Papers Vol. VI., p. 701.
2. Van Rensselaer to Gov. Clinton Oct. 19, 1780. Clinton Papers, Vol. VI. p. 319.
3. Hough: Northern Invasion, p. 135.
4. Van Rensselaer to Clinton, Oct. 19, 1780, Clinton Papers, Vol. VI. 319.
5. Court Martial of Van Rensselaer. Clinton Papers, Vol. VI. p. 702; Van Rensselaer ^{tried for} was want of energy in conducting the campaign. He was vindicated.
6. ibid. p. 698-9.
7. ibid. pp. 318, 325. Col. DuBois reported that Sir John was wounded in the thigh during the engagement; ibid. p. 318. If so it does not appear that Sir John mentioned it in his reports.
8. Court Martial of Van Rensselaer. Clinton Papers, Vol. VI. p. 703.

destroy Sir John's boats at Onodoga. The party not only failed in the attempt
¹
 but all except two were taken prisoners by Sir John's forces.

The expedition returned to Canada having carried out ruthlessly that part of the plan which called for the destruction of the crops of the enemy. Governor Clinton estimated that "at least one hundred fifty thousand bushels of wheat were destroyed besides other grain and forage, and two hundred dwellings. Schenectady may now be said to become the limits of our western
²
³
 frontier". Sir John with six hundred white troops reinforced by an uncertain number of Indians had succeeded in marching a great distance through the enemy's country, devastating as he marched. At Klock's Place he was attacked
⁴
 by a superior force and succeeded in extricating his little army from a
⁵
 critical situation with small loss. General Haldimand in a letter to Lord Germain expressed his "perfect satisfaction" with the "zeal, spirit and
⁶
 activity with which Sir John Johnson has conducted this arduous enterprise."

1. Clinton Papers, Vol. VI., pp.332-333.

2. ibid. p.346.

3. Can. Arch. 1887, p.547.

4. On the 19th Gen. Van Rensselaer wrote that he had 900 men. Clinton Papers. Vol.VI.,p.320.

5. The returns show 9 killed, 7 wounded, 3 deserted, 53 missing. They made 66 prisoners. Almon: Remembrancer XI, p.81.

6. Letter of Haldimand to Germain, Nov.2d,1780, cited in Hough: Northern Invasion, p.135.

Chapter VI.

The expedition to Johnstown in the autumn of 1780 was the last that Sir John led over the borders. In the summer of 1781 he made arrangements for a raid into the colony of New York, but the plan was abandoned and he remained at his headquarters actively engaged in sending out scouting parties as the occasion demanded and dispatching and receiving secret information. In the autumn of 1781, he took advantage of a leave of absence granted the year before and sailed for England. His private affairs were in a "ruinous situation" and his regiment had never been placed on the establishment. After Cornwallis's defeat the probable outcome of the rebellion could be predicted, and if Sir John was to secure half pay for himself and his officers, in case peace was declared and the regiment dissolved, it was necessary that the corps be placed on the same footing as the regular British regiments.

Sir John's brother-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, had been since the death of Sir William, Superintendent of the Six Nations. His management of Indian Affairs was at this time severely criticized. The expences of the department were enormous and the Superintendent was accused of collusion with Taylor and Forsythe, contractors. October 23rd, 1781, General Haldimand in a

1. Can. Arch. 1888, p. 654; 1887, p. 143.
2. ibid. 1888, p. 654.
3. ibid. pp. 653, 654, 668, 669.
4. ibid. p. 655; 1885, p. 340.
5. Letter of Haldimand to Germain, Nov. 28, 1780. Can. Arch. 1885 p. 335.
6. See register of warrants for extra ordinary service of the army. Can. Arch. 1886, p. 662ff.
7. Can. Arch. 1889, p. 72.
8. ibid. 1887, pp. 99, 100, 102, 106.
9. ibid. pp. 103, 104, 107, 108.

letter to Lord Germaine declared that he could devise no plan to control the expences of the Indian department at the posts, other than to appoint a "person of rank, influence, knowledge, activity and perfect honor." He suggested that ¹ Sir John Johnson would fulfill these requirements. In accord with this recommendation, Sir John returned to Canada in the summer of 1782 commissioned as "Superintendent General and Inspector General of the Six Nation Indians and ² those in the Province of Quebec." He was also given the rank of Brigadier ³ General in Canada.

Soon after his return from England he made a tour of the upper posts in company with Joseph Brant with a view to devise means to enforce economy in his department, and to concillite the Indians who were alarmed about ⁴ their prospective losses should peace be declared. In accordance with his instructions and finding on the tour, Sir John ordered "so material a reduction" ⁵ that Haldimand doubted the wisdom of carrying it out, since the Indians were in ⁶ no mood to take kindly to measures looking toward retrenchment.

In the spring of 1783 the terms of the provisional treaty of ⁶ peace were received in Canada. It granted away lands claimed by the Six Nations from time beyond their earliest memory and contained no stipulation ⁷ in their favor. So unsatisfactory was the provisional treaty regarded in this respect, that the men in charge of the Six Nations tried to keep the terms ⁸ from becoming known to the Indians, hoping that something might yet be done to favor their red allies. However the news "leaked out" and general alarm and

1. Can. Arch. 1885, p.341.
2. ibid. 1887, p.166
3. ibid. 1885, p.283.
4. ibid. 1887, p.250, 251.
5. ibid. 1887, p.151.
6. ibid. p.259.
7. ibid. pp. 259, 260.
8. ibid. 1886, p.31, 1887, p.260.

1

dissatisfaction was felt among the Six Nations. Joseph Brant claimed that the King had sold the Indians to Congress and ceded away what was not his to give. He maintained that the Indians were a free people, subject to no power on earth
 2 and that they would not submit to such injustice. Brigadier MacLean who at this time commanded at Niagara, where the Six Nations then had their headquarters, was placed in a precarious condition. He supplied the Indians "a little more liberally" with rum to keep them in a "good humor" and sent repeated
 3 calls for Sir John to come to Niagara as soon as possible. However, he stated in a letter to General Haldimand, not unwilling to deprecate an old opponent at headquarters, that "one puncheon of rum will have more effect on
 4 the Indians than all the ability of Sir John."

5

Sir John arrived at Niagara July 19th, where he met one thousand
 6 six hundred and eighty five Indians of the Six Nations and held a council with
 7 them from July 22nd to the 31st. He reconciled them to the "infamous treaty"
 8 and to their "uncertain and painful situation." A month or so later the Six
 Nations held a conference with the Western and the Southern Indians at Sand-
 usky and formed an offensive and a defensive league and agreed unless attacked
 9 to live at peace with the Americans.
 10

The English Government repaid the Six Nations for their aid during the war and for their losses, by lavish grants of land. Brant in accord with a "solemn agreement" made with the Western Indians asked leave to settle on the

1. Can. Arch. 1886, pp. 32,33,34.
2. MacLean to Haldimand May 18th, 1783. Can. Arch. 1886, p.32-33.
3. ibid. 1886, pp. 31,33,34,35.
4. ibid. 1886, p.34.
5. ibid. 1886, p.37.
6. ibid. 1887, p. 154.
7. ibid. 1887, p.198.
8. ibid. p. 153.
9. ibid. p. 154.
10. ibid. p. 40.

¹
 Grand River. General Haldimand purchased the desired strip and on October 25, 1784 the Mohawks and such others of the Six Nations as wished to settle in that locality were told to take possession of the land " six miles deep from each side of the river beginning ² at Lake Erie and extending in that proportion to the head of the said river." On the banks of the Grand River the greater part of the Mohawks, Senecas, Cayugas and "others of the Six Nations" settled. A small band of Mohawks lead by captain John refused to join their relatives ³ on the Grand River and land was provided for them on the Bay of Quinte. At the Grand River settlement a grist mill and a saw mill were built. A church ⁴ was also erected and a schoolmaster provided for the children. The Indian's losses due to the war were as follows; Mohawks £8,030 9s; Oneidas £520 4s; Aughquagas £718; Tuscaroras £201 9s; total, New York currency £9,470 12s. ⁵
 The Six Nations probably in the long run profitted through their loyalty to Great Britain. Their paths have fallen in more pleasant places than those of their old neighbors across the borders.

The Indians were not the only ones who found fault with the ⁶ treaty of peace. The loyalists felt that they too had been betrayed. However the British made amends by their efforts to compensate the sufferers by giving them lands and money. The vast majority of loyalists had lost but little property; many of those who left after peace was declared took their personal property with them. Compensation was made to this class by grants of land

1. Can. Arch. 1887, p.43.
2. ibid. 1889, p.109.
3. ibid. 1886, p.455.
4. ibid. pp.456,457.
5. This did not include 3,000 acres of wood land belonging to the Mohawks. ibid. 1887, p. 160.
6. "Tis an honor to serve the best of nations, and be left to be hanged in their capitulations." Cited in Wallace: U.S.Loyalists, p.49.

either in Canada or Nova Scotia, with seeds, tools and provisions. A minority of the loyalists who had been wealthy and had lost all their property by the rebellion claimed a money indemnity. Sir John belonged to the latter class. He had been attainted in 1779 by an act of the New York legislature and all his property, real and personal, had been confiscated. Before leaving Johnstown in 1776, Sir John had buried his papers. A party sent out from Canada in 1778 rescued them but they were found to be in a ruinous condition. Sir John estimated that their destruction involved a loss of £20,000. By the end of the war he was financially ruined. He had a large family to support and the salary that he received as Superintendent of Indian affairs in 1782 must have been a welcomed relief. Besides this he claimed compensation for his loyalty and service.

In July, 1783, a royal commission was appointed to inquire into the losses of all persons who had suffered in their rights and properties due to the rebellion. This commission allowed Sir John £221,000, which was the largest amount paid to any New York loyalist. Besides this he received a tract of land, such as was given to all officers.

Although Sir John was arduously engaged in conciliating the Indians and in adjusting his own private affairs he did not neglect to provide so far as he could for the soldiers in his regiment. In general the government allowed 5,000 acres of land to all field officers, captains 3,000,

1. Flick: Loyalism in New York. pp.188,189.
2. ibid. p. 147.
3. The returns of the 1st battalion of the King's Royal regiment of N.Y. show that Sir John lost nearly 200,000 acres of land by the rebellion. Cited in MacLean's Highlanders. p.224.
4. Can. Arch. 1888, p.644.
5. ibid. 1885, p.335.
6. He had eight sons that grew to manhood. However some of them were born after 1783. DePeyster: The Johnson Family. Munsell Series No.11, VI-IX.
7. A letter from Sydney to Sir John Aug.20,1785, speaks of the "usual salary as being £1000 per annum. Myers: Tories, p.204.

subaltern 2,000, non-commissioned officers and privates 200. When General ¹
 Haldimand received instructions regarding these land grants he immediately in ²
 the late summer of 1783 began to make surveys of the land around Cataraqui. ³
 However bad weather hindered the surveys and winter came on before a great deal ⁴
 was accomplished. At this juncture Sir John was ordered to disband his regi-
 ment in mid winter. He insisted that the men should be allowed provisions and ⁵
 shelter for the winter and until such a time as they could be settled on their ⁶
 lands. Fortunately for the soldiers this request was granted.

Early in 1784 Sir John began to lay out his new home on the north ⁷
 bank of the St Lawrence River at a place which was afterwards called Johnstown. ⁶
 In July of the same year, by General Haldimand's request, Sir John took charge of ⁸
 the settling of the loyalists in that region. Five townships were surveyed on ⁹
 the bay of Quinte and eight on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, west of Lake ¹⁰
 St. Francis. Members of Sir John's 1st battalion were given lands in the first
 five townships west of the line of the province of Quebec. The next three
 townships were settled by a part of Jessup's corps. The 2nd battalion of Sir
 John's regiment settled on township three and four of the Cataraqui strip
 with a band of New York loyalists under Grass and a part of Jessup's corps
 for neighbors. In these thirteen townships there were 3776 original settlers. ⁹
 Sir John did what he could for the infant settlement; he secured an increase

1. Wallace: N.E. Loyalists, p.117.
2. Can. Arch. 1885, p.283.
3. ibid. p.35. 1887, p.252.
4. ibid. 1887, pp. 253, 263, 265,
5. ibid. 1888, p. 659.
6. ibid. 1887. p. 160.
7. A traveler passing through the country about Johnstown in 1792
 described Sir John's house as a small country lodge and stated
 that the grounds were only beginning to be cleared. Wallace:
 N.E.Loyalists, p. 128.
8. Can. Arch. 1886, p. 463.
9. Wallace: N.E.Loyalists. p. 100. This author gives a good ac-
 count of the settlement.
10. ibid. p. 104.

1 2 3
in rations, sent to the Mohawks for seed wheat, built saw and grist mills and
busied himself in many ways to aid the settlers.

Sir John was a comparatively young man at the close of the war. He had lost financially by his loyalty to the English crown, but long years of honor and usefulness were before him. He had succeeded in gaining the respect and friendship of the crusty old bachelor, General Haldimand, who befriended him on many occasions. Secure in the friendship of men in power he had nothing to fear from the calumny of his former friends and neighbors across the borders. He inherited from his father, Sir William Johnson, a capability for great activity. His ability has, in most cases, been underestimated by American writers, while his father has been given unstinted praise. It would seem that an impartial comparison of the careers of father and son would not result unfavorably to Sir John.

1. Can. Arch. 1887, p.164.
2. *ibid.* p. 164.
3. *ibid.* p. 165.
4. He died in 1830.

LOYALIST & INDIAN SETTLEMENTS IN ONTARIO

Made under the supervision of Sir John Johnson 1784-1786

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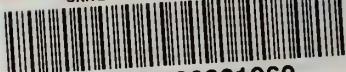
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